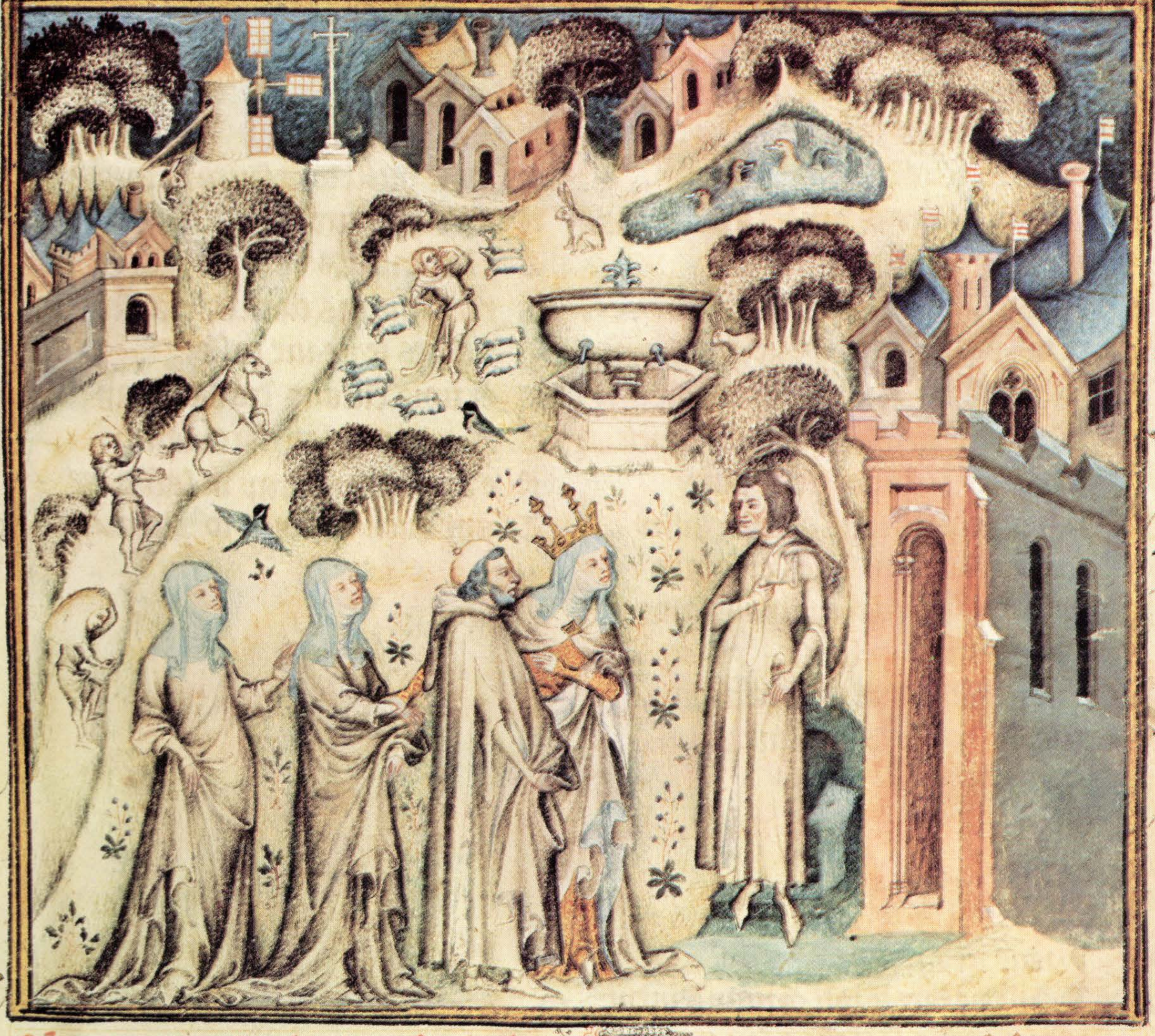

Cõment nature voulant ordenoit plus
que onques nes meuler a faire effacier
les biens a honneurs qui sont en amours
vient a Guillè de machaut a li ordene a en
charge a faire sur ce nouueaux dis amou
reux. et li baille pour li conseillier a aidier
a ce faire trois de ses enfans. Cest assauoir
Sens. Retorique a musique. et li dit
pur cette maniere.

Nature par qui tout est fourme
Quanque a ca mis a fur me a en ma
Veng a toy Guillè qui fourme
Si a pris pour faire pur toy fourmer
Nouueaux dis amoureux plaisans
Pour ce te bail a trois de mes enfans
Q. in ten donront la pratique
E theorique deulx trois bien cognoissans
Ne me font Sens Retorique a musique

Early Music

OCTOBER 1977 £1.60

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Back cover: Singers performing from a rotulus, *Bib. nat., Paris, f.fr. 9221,* E, *f.16r.*

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Guillaume de Machaut

For many people a whole new world of musical experience opened up with the appearance of the Safford Cape recording of Machaut's Mass in 1956. Machaut is the first composer to have a special issue of Early Music *devoted to his work. Stanley Boorman first suggested the project and the effective way he has realized it is shown in the quality of the contributions. I am most grateful to him and to David Fallows for overseeing the Machaut section of this issue and hope that this is but the first of many such collaborations.*

JMT

Introduction

Guillaume de Machaut, statesman, diplomat, cleric, poet and musician, died 600 years ago this year. He had served John, Duke of Luxembourg, as his secretary from *c* 1323 until the Duke's death in 1346, apparently travelling with him through Eastern Europe. Thereafter, he was employed at various times by Charles, King of Navarre, by Charles of Normandy (later King of France), and by Pierre, King of Cyprus, when he was in France. John, Duke of Berry, one of the great patrons of the period, also seems to have patronized Machaut. As a cleric, he received canonries at some of the leading churches in northern France, at Reims, at S. Quentin and at Verdun. He was recognized as a musician during his lifetime, for he appears to have written a motet for the election of the archbishop of Reims as early as 1324. It is as poet and musician that he deserves to be remembered today, for many of his settings of his own poetry are outstanding by the criteria of any period of history.

Probably born around 1300, Machaut came to artistic maturity after the changes in style publicized by the writings of the Ars Nova, although he shows an awareness of the earlier styles. Yet in a number of ways he remained very near the beginning of some traditions that were to last for the next century and more: he was one of the first to write polyphonic settings of poetry in the *formes fixes* (principally ballade, rondeau and virelai), perhaps one of the first to write often for four parts, certainly one of the first to compose an integrated setting of the entire Ordinary of the Mass; and also one of the first for whom we can be sure that we have anything approaching a representative cross-section of his output. On the other hand, he was among the last to compose in those almost symbolically medieval forms, the *Lai* and the *Dit*, with their associations with narrative public declamation.

It might well seem, then, that he was a transitional figure, standing somewhere near the start of a new phase in musical history, working in styles and forms that were either old, or else not yet fully explored, and showing this in a certain tentativeness and in the limited manner in which he exploited his chosen medium. Such criticism is often enough levelled at other composers who appear, with hindsight, to stand at a watershed—and as often levelled unjustly, as it would be here.

It is not merely that Machaut seems to have had a thorough grasp of a range of styles—motets artfully constructed with all the necessary medieval love of balance and proportion, monophonic chansons exploiting pitch

and range, rhythm and metre to keep alive the interest of performer and listener across many stanzas, or polyphonic chansons ranging from the very melismatic (in which the subtlety of line and the interplay of parts is the essence of the work) to the largely syllabic (in which the lower parts are carefully made so as to act as support)—nor is it that he was able to control all the various aspects of these works in different manners, using the dissonant and active as easily as the consonant and still. It is also that he was able in these diverse techniques to produce works of art, not merely artefacts.

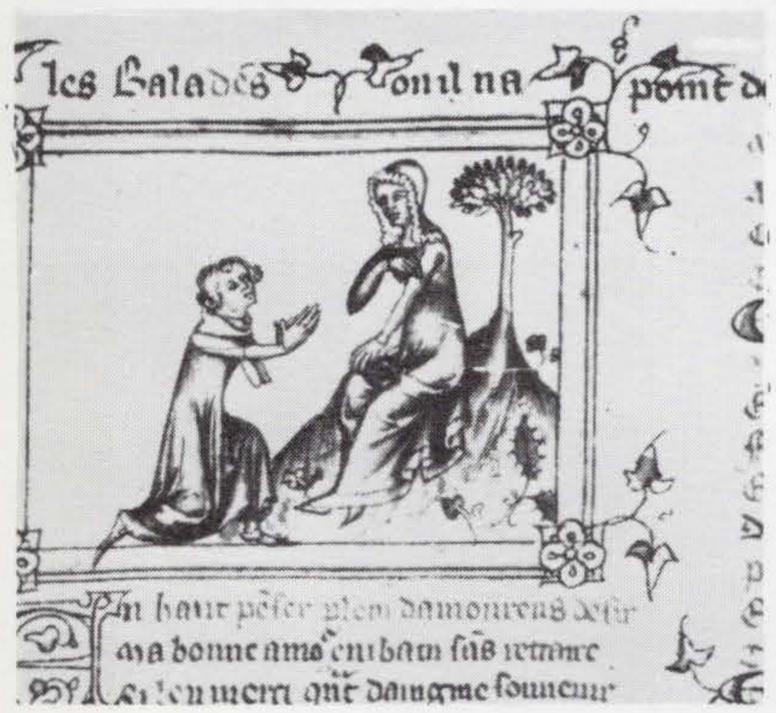
Of course, other composers were able so to do: there are works extant from the pens of Machaut's contemporaries that bear comparison with his own. But he is the first composer of whom we do have a good sample of the many available styles and forms. In part, this is because his contemporaries recognized the high level of his work. But in part, also, it is because he apparently sought to preserve his work intact: in the *Voir Dit* he speaks of his wish to send to his lady a book 'a toutes les choses sont que je fis onques': and one manuscript claims that it preserves Machaut's works in the order that he desires. Of the many sources that contain some of his music, the most important is a handful devoted solely to him, carefully copied for the most part, and carefully preserved. The importance of these cannot be overstated, for they are early (some written during his lifetime), they are lavish in many cases, and they all contain a majority of his works (even though some items appear in only a few of them). But they are also problematic for, however closely they may relate to Machaut, they differ in various ways. Pieces that appear as two- or three-part works in one source will have an additional voice in another: readings of various critical pitches will differ, rhythms will be subtly modified and other features, such as the use of accidentals, changed.

Clearly, anyone preparing an edition or performance of Machaut's music has to come to grips with the problems raised by these precious manuscripts. Two distinguished scholars prepared editions of the music—though the approaches of Friedrich Ludwig and Leo Schrade produced quite different results. Since then, much important work has been done by Gilbert Reaney. It is from his studies and those of Ursula Günther that the present wave of scholars, including those writing in this issue, have been able to move forward. Some of the results of fresh approaches to the manuscripts are discussed by Elizabeth Keitel, the problems that follow are clearly shown by Jean Harden, who is able to relate the sources to the problems of performance. Sarah Jane Williams emphasizes the reality behind Machaut's longest poem, the *Voir Dit*; David Fallows offers a historical context for a recently discovered fragment containing music by Machaut; and Christopher Page translates and interprets the writings on performance practice of the Machaut pupil Deschamps.

However, we hope above all to draw renewed attention to the music, and to stimulate more and better performances. We make no apology for devoting so much of this issue of *Early Music* to the work of one composer, when the work is of so high a musical standard.

SB

Opening of Machaut's La Louange des dames, *Bib. nat., f.fr. 1584, f.177v. By courtesy of Scottish Academic Press*



Manuscript C of Machaut's La Louange des dames. *Bibl. natl., f.fr. 1586, f. 121r. By courtesy of Scottish Academic Press*

Notes

Register of Early Music 1977

The Register of Early Music has grown to such an extent that transferring it from the card index system so valiantly initiated by Christopher Monk and Eric Hedger some years ago, to the computer, has proved extremely taxing. The whole operation has been supervised and carried out by Margot Leigh Milner and a team of assistants who have checked every entry and tried to make the Register consistent insofar as the material supplied permitted. There are now over 3,000 names; English county boundaries have changed drastically; postal and telephonic conventions vary from country to country; handwriting is often teasingly elusive; some instrumental combinations seemed beyond human physiognomy. To produce a Register that will truly supply all members today with the information that they need about each other cannot understandably be done without a small charge now to cover the costs, which must be borne by the journal within its annual budget. To obtain the Register would you therefore please fill in the separate order included on the subscription form in this issue, and send £1.50 ($4) to the Journals Department, Oxford University Press, Press Road, Neasden, London NW10 0DD, England. You will find that the instrumental categories have been greatly extended. We stress that the Register is open to correction and improvement. Please let us know if you find it useful and can think of ways of making it better. Additions and revisions will be lodged in the computer as they come in and a complete new Register will be published in 1978. In future, information can be taken only from cards, not letters. Please remember that a change of address to the Journals Department is for a separate computer and will not be incorporated in the Register.

Early writings on music

Christopher Page's article on Machaut's pupil Deschamps is the first in a new series called 'Early writings on music'. Its aim is to provide scholarly translations of writings on practical rather than theoretical aspects of music that until now have not been readily accessible. We hope they will prove of particular value to instrument makers and performers. Each translation will include the original, so that versions can be checked, debated, and revised. The next in the series will be Christopher Page's translation of Jean de Gerson's *Tractatus de Canticis*, an early 15th-century treatise on musical instruments. This will be followed by Joseph Dyer's 'Singing with proper refinement', from *De modo bene cantandi* of 1474 by Conrad von Zabern, the first manual devoted to proper singing techniques. It will form part of the choral issue in April 1978.

Viol issue in January

Appropriately, the viol issue in January coincides with the tercentenary year of the death of one of the finest composers of music for the viol, John Jenkins (1592-1678). Amongst articles scheduled are Gordon Dodd's comprehensive summary of the entire viol repertoire, Peter Holman's 're-discovery' of some suites by Jenkins, Francis Baines on Gibbons and his own Jaye Consort, Marco Pallis, a founder member of the English Consort of Viols, on historical trends, Ian Woodfield on posture in viol playing, David Pinto on Lawes and others it would be hazardous at this moment to promise. If these do not reach us in time for January they will appear in a follow-up issue in October when the boundaries will extend more to Europe and the contributors will include European authorities as well as English ones such as Andrew Ashbee. In January we are privileged to publish an announcement of an important musicological discovery—the missing altus part book from what has become known as the Newberry partbooks, has turned up and Colin Slim will compare his own and other conjectural solutions with the part book itself, a fascinating exercise in reconstruction.

Opposite: Machaut. *Bibl. natl., Paris, f.fr. 22546 G, folio 45 (detail)*

The Lady, the Lyrics and the Letters

SARAH JANE WILLIAMS

The celebration of love and the praise of ladies, those standbys of medieval poetry, were for Guillaume de Machaut, as he often reminds us with something like programmatic insistence, his chief aims, his leading themes. The longest of all his works, the *Voir Dit*, was written in praise of a lady, and is about a curious but probably quite real love affair centring on Machaut's accomplishments as a composer as well as a poet. In this *Tale of Truth* (as its title may be translated), the elderly Guillaume recounts his love affair with a much younger lady—beautiful, good, of noble family, and gifted, 'la mieulz chantans, Qui fust née depuis cent ans' (p. 4)[1]—who sought him out for his music.

Machaut's contemporaries, and the poet himself, evidently took special pleasure in the *Voir Dit*'s elaborate allegories of Fortune, its dream visions, its tales of famous lovers, and its advice in matters of love etiquette and in matters of state. But for students of Machaut's music its special interest lies rather in its many lyrics, eight of them furnished with musical settings, and in its letters, which often refer to musical composition and performance.[2] And both the letters and the lyrics depend on the lady's role in the poem.

It is a very young lady who sets the plot in motion by sending a lyric and an admiring letter to the ill and aging poet. An exchange of poems and letters flourishes. 'Toute Belle', as Machaut refers to her throughout the poem, somewhat in the manner of the troubadours who used fanciful names (*senhals*) in addressing their mistresses, sends her portrait. Her lover finds his health restored and his inspiration renewed. The old poet and his young mistress meet several times, and go together on a pilgrimage. Before they part the lover is permitted to visit Toute Belle as she arises, and the scene reaches a climax when Venus enfolds the lovers in a cloud. This is their last meeting, although the correspondence continues. The lover finds reasons to doubt the lady's conduct and her loyalty to him. In the end they are reconciled, but the impression is given that the affair has ended. In the closing verses of the *Voir Dit* the narrator reveals his lady's name, as well as his own, in an anagram whose solution was worked out by Paulin Paris. She was Péronne d'Armentières, a young contemporary of Machaut known through independent sources (pp. xxi-xxiv).

Although Péronne may have inspired the *Voir Dit*, one of the puzzles of the poem is the question of how much she contributed to its contents. Machaut, anticipating criticism for including a substantial prose correspondence—there are forty-six letters in all—insists that he does so by his lady's command (p. 16). Furthermore, he tells his patrons (*mi seigneur*), she wishes him to include in this *Tale of Truth* everything he wrote for her, and everything she wrote to him, without concealing anything (p. 17). While we may accept only with many qualifications and reservations Machaut's claim

The illustrations in this article, unless otherwise stated, are from Machaut's Nouviaus dis Amoureux, *Bib. nat., Paris, Ms. f.fr. 1584* A

to be telling a true story, both the lyrics and the letters, I believe, contain traces of Péronne's work.

As the book progresses, Machaut worries about how fully he should carry out his lady's command, and about the frankness of her letters. He urges her to take some editorial control over the book he is writing for her, and over the letters in particular (pp. 259, 277, 314). She, in turn, replies that she has changes in mind (p. 369). Machaut also worries, and with good reason, about the arrangement of the letters. Again in speaking of the progress he is making on Toute Belle's book, he complains that he is having trouble putting the letters in the proper order (pp. 202-3). The early letters gave him a great deal of trouble. He managed to write a series of them into the text in the wrong order, linking them with the verses surrounding them in a way that defies satisfactory rearrangement.[3] Their rearranged order in the printed edition has led several scholars into errors of identification. Machaut, whose poetry is usually both conventional and highly organized, surely did not deliberately create such disorder and confusion for his readers. Whatever editorial changes he made before the *Voir Dit* was put into final form, it is easier for us to believe in the authenticity of the letters, or of most of them, than to suppose they are wholly imaginary.

If the letters seem to have originated from a real correspondence, many of the lyrics, too, were surely brought into the *Voir Dit* as poetic memories of a real affair. Some of them must have been written by Péronne herself. We see this in a general way in the very choice of lyric forms represented in the *Voir Dit*. Whereas ballades far outnumber rondeaux elsewhere in Machaut's literary and musical repertory, the proportion is reversed in the *Voir Dit*, where rondeaux outnumber ballades thirty to nineteen. The likeliest explanation is not far to seek: it is Toute Belle who initiates the exchange of lyrics between the poet and the lady, and she does it with a rondeau. There are numerous other examples assigned to Toute Belle. Presumably the historical Péronne found this short, playful form an easy one to grasp and imitate. And Machaut's sense of fitness, as the sequel shows, led him to follow her lead in this as in much else.

In any event it is suggestive that the first few lyrics that Toute Belle sends Machaut in the *Voir Dit* are written in forms of the rondeau rarely if ever found in Machaut's work elsewhere. Her very first lyric—sent out of the blue to the famous poet-composer as a kind of poetic fan-letter—as well as her second, which comes enclosed in her first real letter to him, is a rondeau of thirteen lines instead of the usual eight, a variant paralleled only once in Mauchaut's literary work outside the *Voir Dit*.[4] There are three examples, one elsewhere in the *Voir Dit*, among his rondeaux with extant musical settings, and Péronne may have learned the form there. The third of Toute Belle's rondeaux is indeed peculiar: it is unlike any other in Machaut's work. Whereas *all* his other rondeaux have lines of equal length, this one, *Celle qui nuit et jour désire/De vous véoir*, alternates long with short lines (p. 29). It is also irregular in having twelve lines. Evidently it started out, like the earlier rondeaux, to develop into thirteen lines, but ended short by one line. Because of an awkward mixture of first person with third person forms, the repetition of the refrain in the last line cannot make grammatical sense and has to be omitted. One can easily believe it to be the work of a poetic apprentice, as Toute Belle indeed considered herself.

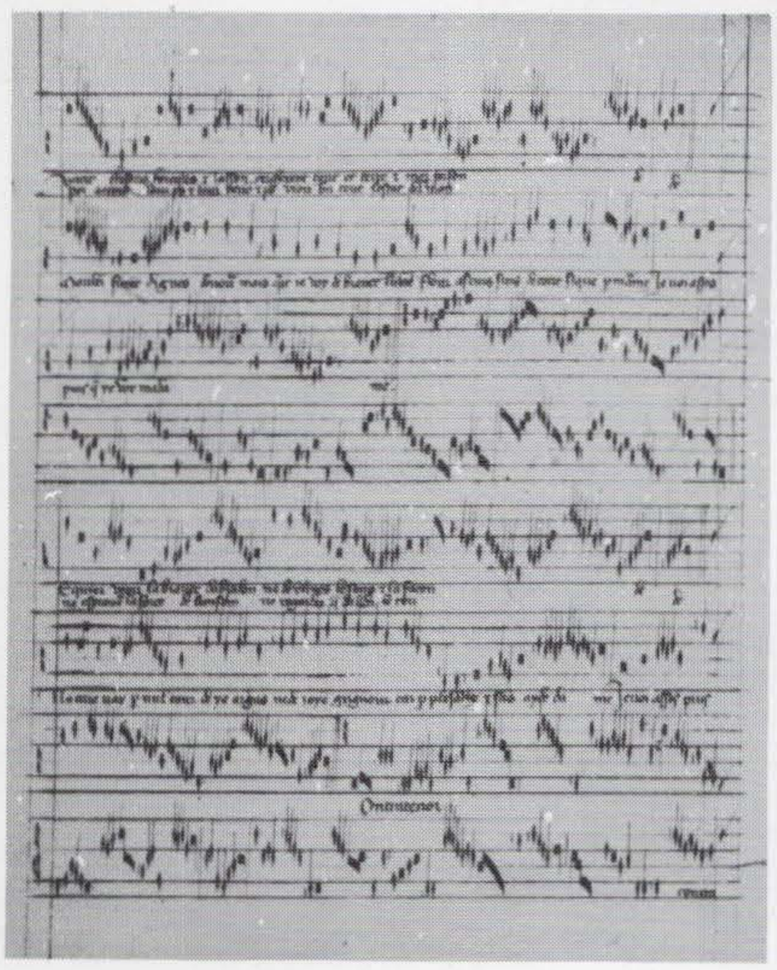
Several other lyrics attributed to the lady are irregular or deficient in other ways. Two of her virelais, *Ne vous estuet guermenter* (pp. 49, 50), and *Dès que premiers oÿ retraire* (p. 78), have only a single stanza instead of the usual three. Her ballade on the refrain, *Regrete la compaignie* (pp. 236, 237), has two instead of three stanzas, as does the virelai, *Cent mille fois esbahie*. In this last case Machaut feels called upon to explain the defect. He says she was too sad and upset to write the third verse (pp. 343, 344).

Yet, whereas some of the lyrics thus seem to bear Péronne's signature, the question of the extent to which the lyrics in the *Voir Dit* originated in the affair between Machaut and this lady is complicated by larger considerations. The placing of the *Voir Dit* lyrics and musical settings in the manuscripts of Machaut's works, for instance, suggests that their origin and function differ considerably from those of the earlier *Remède de Fortune*. In the *Remède*, Machaut very deliberately and didactically included seven lyrics set to music, representing different genres in a systematic way. In the manuscripts of the collected works, these lyrics always appear in their proper places within the *Remède*, never separately in the music sections or in the collection of literary lyrics. Many lyrics of the far more disorganized *Voir Dit*, by contrast, spill over into other sections of the manuscripts. In two of the three manuscripts that contain the *Voir Dit*, indeed, the presence of musical settings is indicated by a rubric, 'et y a chant', or a similar phrase, while the music itself can be found only in the music sections.

Another peculiarity of the *Voir Dit*'s lyrics bears more closely upon the question of origin. Over a third of them can also be found independently in manuscripts that do not even contain the *Voir Dit* itself. Three of those attributed to Péronne are surely the work of Machaut. Indeed, while one cannot easily make out its exact limits, I suspect Péronne's *oeuvre* to be a rather slender one, which Machaut did his best to supplement in the course of putting the *Voir Dit* together. It is doubtful, for instance, that Péronne could have written the elaborate second complaint with which she is credited. Of the group of lyrics found in manuscripts that do not contain the *Voir Dit*, moreover, eight appear in Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 1586, a manuscript thought to contain only early works of the poet. This group, which includes Machaut's musical setting of the rondeau, *Sans cuer, dolens, de vous departiray*—unlike the other compositions of the *Voir Dit* it is for only two voices—is likely to have been written long before the love affair recounted in the *Voir Dit* took place. The others, there is reason to think, were written by Machaut during the course of the affair or while the *Voir Dit* was still a work in progress. But their original relation to the affair is somewhat suspect too. Machaut apparently incorporated suitable lyrics at will from his earlier work, representing them both to his readers and to Péronne herself as newly composed. Hard put to it to meet Péronne's insatiable demands for music, he occasionally tried to amuse her by sending her his older works. Although he says at one point that he has composed a new tenor and contratenor for a piece he is sending her (p. 242), Péronne is not deceived. She complains: 'I have received the rondeau with music that you sent me; but I have seen it before and am quite familiar with it. So please send me others . . .' (p. 250). Unfortunately we do not know which rondeau she refers to.

The *Voir Dit*, like the earlier *Remède*, testifies to the important place that

Machaut's double ballade Quant Théseus/Ne quier veoir, *from the 'Reina' manuscript (Paris, Bib. nat., n.a.fr. 6771, f.54v), which contains a general collection of the 14th century*



music and poetry enjoyed as social pastimes and adornments of 14th-century courtly society. General feasting and merrymaking during a pilgrimage are crowned by musical entertainment:

Là fumes servi de dous lais,
D'entremés, et de virelais,
Qu'on claime chansons baladées,
Bien oÿes, bien escoutés,
Et de tout le fait de musique
Tres-bien et tres-proprement; si, que
On ne savoit auquel entendre.
Là pooit-on assès aprendre;
Car chascun faisoit son effort
De chanter bien, et bel, et fort. (pp. 150-151)[5]

And in the period of their first encounters Toute Belle often enchants her lover by singing him a rondeau or little song, or some other new trifle when she comes to meet him in the garden where he is saying his hours (p. 98).

The exchange of lyrics, too, has a natural place among the rituals of elegant courtship, and most of them here belong to the earlier parts of the story, when the relationship of Toute Belle and the poet is still ripening. In a further refinement, over half of the *Voir Dit*'s lyrics form pairs, or companion pieces, with related subjects, rhymes, and verse forms. (Nowhere else in Machaut's works can such a concentration of paired lyrics be found.) Machaut sets the pattern in replying to his lady's poetic overture, as he will reply to the rondeau in her first letter, with a rondeau of exactly the same form, rhymes, and metre. Each time he calls attention to the procedure in the accompanying text, noting that his answer is 'En tel maniere et en tel rime, Com elle en son Rondelet rime' (p. 18).

It is after the poet has made a pilgrimage to a church situated not far from her residence that the lovers actually meet. But first, while he is still on his pilgrimage, there is a long exchange of lyrics. Even as he begins his devotions, the poet vows to write something new for his lady each day until his novena is over (p. 70). To each poem she replies. The lover's opening ballade she answers with a virelai that picks up its rhyme and the theme of its refrain. Then there are four more paired rondeaux (pp. 71-74). After a brief interruption there is another pair of rondeaux as well as a pair of virelais (pp. 76-78).

The lovers' first parting and reunion provoke another outburst of lyricism, of no fewer than ten rondeaux—five pairs—in close succession (pp. 108-117). A later meeting is celebrated by a ballade and an answering rondeau that picks up its refrain (pp. 152-153). (When the companion pieces are ballades involved in pairings with other genres, their refrains play the most important part. Similarly, when a ballade is mentioned or alluded to in the *Voir Dit*, it is always by the refrain line.)

The last, as well as the first lyric of the *Voir Dit* is by the lady. Machaut wrote and set to music a rondeau that uses an anagram based on numbers to indicate her name (pp. 266, 267 and note). She again plays the eager apprentice to the famous poet, for without his example, she says in her

letter, she would not have known how to make her rondeau, whose numbers point to the letters, GUILLAUME (pp. 369, 370).

The most spectacular exchange of lyrics in the *Voir Dit*, however, and that of the greatest musical interest, is not between the lovers. It takes place, rather, in a poetic contest between Machaut and a certain Thomas Paien.[6] At the end of a long letter Machaut announces rather suddenly: 'I'm sending you the ballade of T. Paien, and the answer I made him, which I composed on the spot; but he went first, and skimmed the fat from the pot as well as he could, and I followed: you be the judge, please. But really, he had too much of an advantage; in any case, I'll set them to music. So don't show them to anyone, I beg you' (p. 266). What he means by this culinary metaphor, which he repeats in his versified account of the contest, becomes clearer when one compares Guillaume's reply with Thomas's ballade. The unwritten rule for replies seems to have been that while the rhyme pattern must be repeated, none of the same rhyme words should be used. Thomas must then have had a true advantage 'to make his soup better', as Machaut complained. In commenting on his reply to Paien, Machaut mentions again the difficulty of the contest; but it is the musical setting and its dedication to Toute Belle that receive his primary emphasis. He 'wrote all four of the voices to amuse and divert her; for it was for her that the matter of these two poems had been made long ago, and now the music, which I humbly present her, is done' (p. 274). He adds in the letter enclosing the composition: 'I've listened to them (the four parts) several times, and they please me very much.' In his reply and musical setting of the two ballades on the common refrain, 'Je voy assez puisque je voy ma dame', in which Guillaume apparently tries to cap Thomas in wealth and range of mythological allusion, his highest musical powers are concentrated in defence of his poetic honour and in praise of his lady.

For the most valuable light that the *Voir Dit* throws upon the music of Machaut and his contemporaries, we must return to the letters. Part of the realistic effect of Toute Belle's letters stems from the fact that they express opinions and make demands seemingly at variance with Machaut's musical practice. She makes a surprising suggestion that one of his virelais together with her answer might be sung together (p. 58). Although Machaut occasionally combined ballade texts into a single musical setting, his virelais as a rule are not even polyphonic.[7]

In her first short letter Toute Belle's commanding tone, her special interest in Machaut's music, and her direct approach are all evident. 'I greet you with all my heart', she writes, 'and send you this rondeau. And if there's anything to correct, I beg you to tell me of it. May it please you to write a virelai on this theme. When you've written the music, send it to me, please, with this rondeau, and with the two others—that is, the one I sent you, and the one you sent me. I'll thank you with all my heart, and I beg you, dearest friend, if there's anything you wish of me, I'll do it willingly for the man I most desire to see. I beg you, dear and good friend, to send me some of your fine songs (*de vos bons diz notez*), for that service will give me greatest pleasure' (p. 16).

As we read on, we are surprised to find that she is not acquainted at all with Machaut's narrative poems. 'I do not know the names of your books,' she confesses, 'nor which ones are the best' (p. 28). Her demands are always

for music rather than poetry. 'It would be enough for me if each time you write you would send me a little "rondelet" or some such new song' (p. 194). When her demands are not fulfilled her tone becomes more petulant. 'It would be enough for me,' she writes a second time, 'if whenever you write you would send me a little song or a rondeau; but let them be with music. . . . So I implore you, my sweetheart, send me less, but send me music' (p. 207). In her last letter, when she breaks off the correspondence, she tells Machaut to write no more *except* to send songs (p. 368).

Machaut complies only indirectly with the requests that Toute Belle makes in her first letter. He does not set any of the rondeaux to music, and he writes another rondeau, instead of the virelai she suggested, in reply. He does send her two ballades, one of them, his 'testament', *Pleurés, dames, pleurés vostre servant*, set to music. During the same illness said to have inspired this 'testament', he wrote another ballade and three virelais. Yet, although in the large manuscripts that contain Machaut's collected works these virelais are placed in the music sections, he never, in spite of insistent, repeated requests from Toute Belle, set them to music.

Machaut's failure to meet his lady's expectations, and perhaps his own, in writing music for his verses emphasizes a certain disproportion between his poetic and musical productivity. The verses must have come to him easily enough. When his work on the *Voir Dit* was going well, he could turn out a hundred verses a day! (p. 202) His subtle musical art must have required a longer period of gestation.

There is another sense in which the two sides of Machaut's art, music and poetry, are not as close as we might expect in the work of a poet-musician. His lyrics are capable of being set to music, but they do not require musical settings. Machaut asks his lady not to send away copies of his poems, since he is thinking of writing music for them, especially for those which best please her (p. 54). The choice of which of them he will actually set apparently depends as much on the desires of the lady and the facility of the composer as on the inherent musical suitability of any particular poem.

When Machaut becomes more specific in describing his music, and in suggesting how it may be performed, he is often puzzling. He twice describes his ballade on the refrain *Le grand desir que j'ay de vous véoir* as like a *Res d'Alemaigne* (pp. 55, 69) (a German melody or composition?) and says that the *tenures* (tenors? ligatures?) are sweet as unsalted gruel ('et sont les tenures aussi doulces commes pappins dessalés') (p. 69). I must confess to making no more sense of this comparison, usually passed over in discreet silence, than could Paulin Paris, over a hundred years ago (note, p. 69). He goes on to ask Péronne to learn it, just as it was made, without adding or omitting anything—and that means in a good, long measure. ('. . . et se vuet dire de bien longue mesure.'[8]) Before concluding that 'sans mettre ne oster' implies that Machaut had particularly exacting standards of performance, we should note that the phrase is something of a formula.[9] Indeed the comment immediately following suggests, in contrast, a rather casual attitude towards performance. Machaut adds that if anyone wishes to perform the work on the organ, on bagpipes, or any other instruments, this is its very nature (p. 69). This suggests both that the ballade can be given an entirely instrumental performance, and that loud or outdoor instruments, such as bagpipes, might be used instead of the soft instru-

Machaut and Péronne. Venus stands at the right hand side and blows a cloud over the lovers.
Voir Dit

ments that would normally be used in accompanying a singer. It also suggests that something about this particular work made Machaut think of drones and sustained notes.

Passages from Machaut's letters are often as tantalizing as they are informative. Their implications for performance may seem at odds with the implications of musical, iconographic, and practical evidence. One would hardly suppose on grounds of musical style that these complex polyphonic works would be casually sung for pleasure, without accompaniment, yet this is what is repeatedly suggested by the text. It is Toute Belle herself whom Machaut regularly asks to learn his songs. In reply to his request that she learn the melody (*le chant*) of the first ballade—a melody which isn't hard—she tells him she's working on it, and that when she sees him she'll sing it with him (pp. 47, 48). Although most of the music is written down in what corresponds to a tenor range, we can suppose this to be a convention of notation rather than an indication of fixed pitch. If Péronne's household maintained a musical establishment, it is one of the many facts about which Machaut leaves his readers in the dark.

That hearing his music performed mattered a great deal to Machaut is clear. Péronne must wait for the rondeau which spells out her name because Machaut has never heard it, and he is not accustomed to sending off his compositions before he has actually heard them (p. 258). From one point of view the statement attests the composer's reliance on the test of the ear, rather than on theoretical considerations. From another, his need to rely on actual performance suggests that his inner ear did not fully take in the complex, experimental polyphony in which he was pioneering.

[1] Page references in parentheses are to the edition of Paulin Paris, *Le Livre du Voir-Dit* (Paris, 1875). A new edition by Paul Imbs has been in preparation for the last decade.

[2] See my article, 'An Author's Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut's "Livre ou je met toutes mes choses",' *Romania*, 90 (1969), 433-454, for a discussion of passages in the *Voir Dit* which refer to the dictation, writing, and copying of lyrics, letters, books, and manuscripts.

[3] See the note of Paulin Paris, p. 387.

[4] Only a single specimen of a thirteen-line rondeau can be found in Machaut's collection of several hundred literary lyrics, *La Louange des Dames*, although there is a scattering of eleven-line ones. See *La Louange des Dames*, ed. Nigel Wilkins (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 108, no. 236, *Gentils cuers, souveigne vous.*

[5] There we were served with sweet lais, with interludes and virelais, which are called *chansons baladées*, well heard, well listened to, and with every aspect of music, very well and very properly; so that one did not know which to attend to. There one could learn enough; for each was making his effort to sing well, both fine and loud.

[6] Friedrich Ludwig, ed., *Musikalische Werke*, by Guillaume de Machaut (Leipzig, 1926-29), II, 69*, identified Paien as a noted jurist who taught at the Sorbonne in the late fourteenth century.

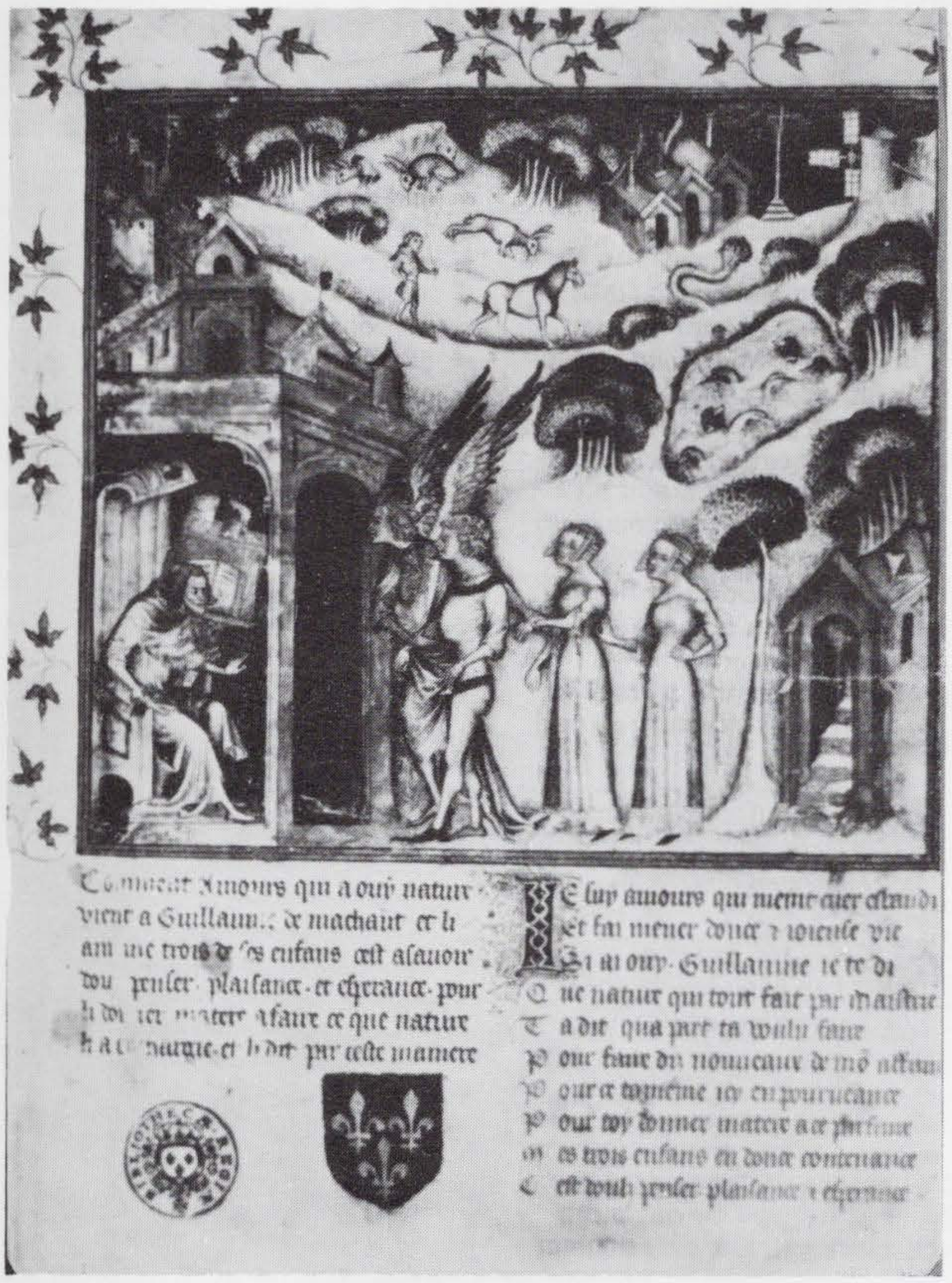
[7] Certain younger composers, however, wrote virelais combining several texts. See nos. 64 and 65 (pp. 104*-107*) in Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). Could Toute Belle have known their works? She keeps hinting that others besides Machaut send her songs (*Voir Dit*, p. 207).

[8] Gilbert Reaney, *Guillaume de Machaut* (London, 1971), p. 16, suggests, in effect, that this may refer to its combination of major tempus and prolation.

[9] 'Vous diray, sans oster ne mettre,/ Ce qu'il y avoit en la lettre', he has written earlier (p. 7); much later a messenger bringing him a letter announces, 'Vo dame vous salue,/ Et vous envoie ceste lettre,/ Où l'en ne puet oster ne mettre/ Mot ne sillabe sans mesprendre' (p. 310).

The Musical Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut

ELIZABETH A. KEITEL



1 Nature *presents her daughters* Sens, Retorique *and* Musique *to Machaut, Paris, Bib. nat., f.fr. 1584,* A, *folio D*

Today Guillaume de Machaut is unquestionably the most famous medieval composer, known primarily for his Mass, a unique work in several respects. If the manuscripts to be discussed in this article had not survived, however, his Mass and most of his other compositions would be lost today.[1] Although the manuscripts have long provided the readings for our modern editions, art historians, musicologists and paleographers have begun to turn to them in the hope that detailed investigations will provide information about the circulation and compilation of Machaut's works.

It is generally accepted that Guillaume de Machaut supervised the preparation and execution of his manuscripts. This assumption is based on evidence that many of the manuscripts were copied during his lifetime,[2] a rubric in one of the manuscripts claiming his involvement,[3] and his own statements in the *Voir Dit* concerning a copy of his complete works. The evidence from the *Voir Dit*, the *Tale of Truth*, is the most convincing, because medieval scribes were not above false claims to lend authority to their editions,[4] and a manuscript could have been copied during an author's lifetime without his supervision or even his knowledge.

The core of the *Voir Dit* is an exchange of letters between Machaut and Péronne, his lady, around which Machaut composed verse and lyrics, some with music. Machaut composed the narrative poem during the love affair, and thus maintained a dual role: one of lover, completely and tragically caught up in the drama; and the other, of poet-composer, detached from the story and concerned with keeping the letters in order and counting the lines on a page.[5]

From our standpoint, Machaut's most revealing statement is his promise in a letter of 1363 to send his book, which contained everything he had ever written and which was then in more than twenty pieces, to facilitate its being copied for a patron.[6] Here is evidence, then, that Machaut supervised at least two books: his original, and the copy for his patron.

Has Machaut's original 'livre ... ou toutes les choses sont que je fis onques' survived? I think not. None of the extant manuscripts may be easily or logically divided into 'plus de vingt pieces'. If the word 'piece' here refers to gatherings or quires, twenty is far too small a number, and if the word means larger fascicles or sections, twenty is far too many. The lack of neat manuscript divisions is of minor concern, however, compared with the abundance in all of the manuscripts of errors and text lapses. One has only to

turn to the music supplement of this issue to view a ballade, 'Seur toute creature humeinne', whose music is corrupt in all of the sources.

Several scholars have ventured to link Machaut's 'livre' with an extant manuscript, but the editors of the complete works knew better. Ludwig, who based his edition on *Vg*, did not hesitate in a problematic passage to take a reading from another manuscript, and Schrade commented, 'to single out one manuscript as the basis of an authoritative musical text did not seem advisable'.[7] Hoepffner's stemma of 1913 for the narrative poems shows the extant manuscripts (in capital letters) far removed from the missing original (O):[8]

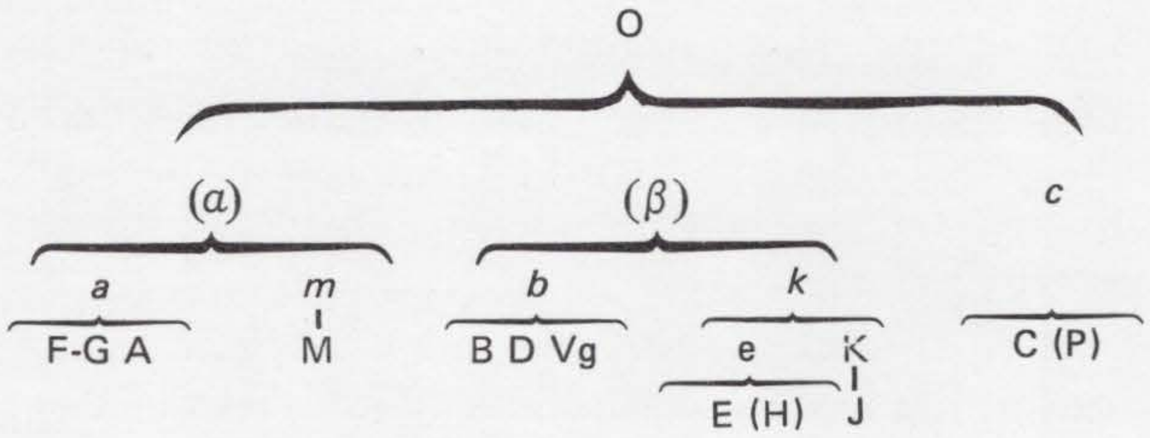
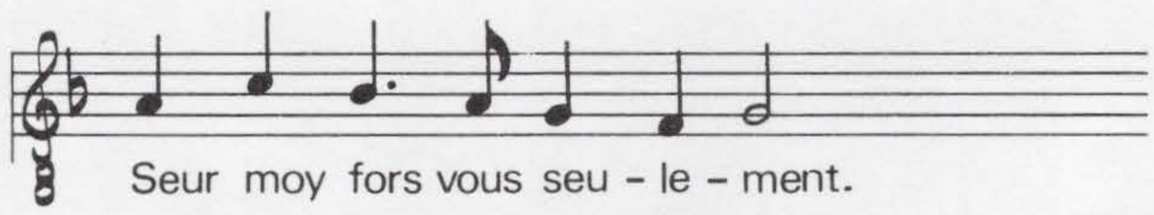


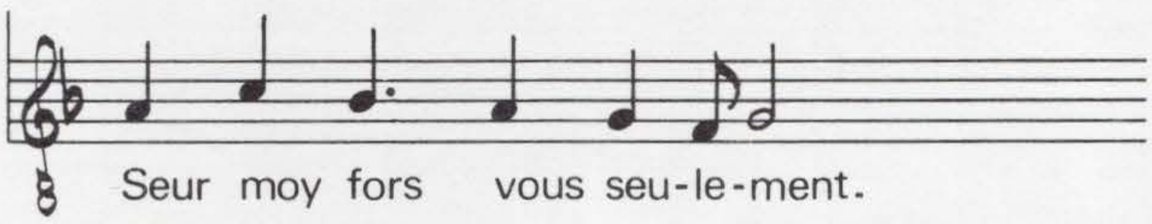
Fig. 1. Hoepffner's stemma

Despite their errors, the manuscripts are a delight for paleographers and art historians, for with the exception of *B*, all were competently copied and in many cases sumptuously designed and illuminated. The styles of illumination of *Vg, A,* and *C*, indicate that their original owners were closely connected with the French royal court from the mid- to late-14th century.[9] The lavish bifolio containing the first part of *A*'s Prologue is decorated with the royal shield of three gold *fleurs-de-lis* on a background of blue (illustration 1). Moreover, the style of illumination, attributable to the workshop of Jean Bondol during the 1370s, would point to Charles V as the probable owner.[10] Reaney suggested that the main portion of *Vg* could be the copy of the complete works mentioned above in the letter of 1363,[11] but the style of *Vg*'s illuminations and borders would seem to suggest a later date.[12] *Vg* also contains the motto used by the Counts of Foix, but there is no reason to think that the inscription, copied in ornate gothic letters on an opening leaf, is contemporary with the execution of the manuscript. Manuscript *E*, illuminated by a different workshop and perhaps later in the century than *Vg*, may have been acquired and signed by the Duke of Berry well after its execution, for Berry's symbols and shield do not figure in the decoration, and the inscription by Berry's librarian is on a bifolio of a different grade of parchment. The most comprehensive manuscript, *F-G*, contains a shield in several of the illuminations, which to my knowledge, is still unidentified (illustration 2). The *contre-hermine* (white ermine on a black shield) surmounted by a gold saltire is also used as a background for several of the miniatures, which refutes the impression in illustration 2 that the shield was added, perhaps for a later owner.

Only manuscript *B* contains no illuminations and is copied in cursive instead of textual hands,[13] on paper instead of parchment. Its overall appearance is so unattractive that one marvels that it has survived the 600 years. We are fortunate indeed that it has survived, however, for its scripts and watermarks point to an execution date well within the lifetime of Machaut. Moreover, *B* does not seem to be a copy of *Vg*, as has been supposed.[14]

Although the page layouts of the manuscripts do reflect performance considerations, the manuscripts themselves do not show overwhelming evidence of having been used for performance. Manuscripts *C, E,* and *Vg* are surprisingly free of proofreader's marks and show few signs of wear.[15] *A* and *B* show more evidence of proofreading, but it is not always clear whether the marks were made by scribes or performers. Especially interesting and often frustrating are the cases of later tracings or erasures of minim stems and additions of new stems. For the most part the additions and erasures do not fundamentally alter the composition, and in a few cases, they enliven it. For instance, at the end of the refrain in *B*'s virelai 'Douce dame', a later hand has changed what we always sing:



to the following:

The knowledge that the main manuscripts were compiled more for collectors than for performers should not deter one from attempting to perform from them. It is interesting, however, to speculate in

2 Machaut. *Bib. nat., Paris, f.fr. 22546, G, folio 45*

what form Péronne and others received Machaut's individual compositions. Certainly the arranger of the Faenza Codex and the compilers of the so-called repertory manuscripts were not working from bound codices of the *oeuvres complètes*.

Although medieval miniatures often portray ecclesiastics singing from the codex, the medieval equivalent of secular 'sheet music' was most likely the rotulus, or scroll. It could be argued, of course, that the singers of the rondeau in illustration 3 were depicted with a rotulus to maintain the 'round' symbolism, seen in their circle around the logical piece of furniture, the barrel. Yet the miniatures of the *Voir Dit* often portray the lover composing on a rotulus, and the only surviving individual composition by Machaut was copied on a rotulus.[16] The rotulus was certainly more practical than bifolia for groups of works or for awkwardly long compositions: the parchment could be cut close to the copy to avoid waste, and the copy could be tightly rolled for safe transport.

Whether copied from a rotulus or bifolio, there are insertions and entries by new scribes in *B* (and sometimes in *Vg*) which may have determined the order of later manuscripts. An interesting example is the case of the 'Lai de Plour', which was dated 1349 by Hoepffner because in several manuscripts it follows the narrative poem, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* of 1349.[17] Williams, who thinks the lai is stylistically earlier than 1349, objects to Hoepffner's date for the lai because of the uncertainty of the manuscript tradition with regard to its [physical] position. In *A*, the most authoritative, it appears only among the lais, while in *F-G*, the most complete in other respects, it is missing entirely. In *Vg* and in *E* it follows the *Roy de Navarre*, while in *M* [a text manuscript] it appears twice, once among the lais and again following the *Roy de Navarre*. The whole picture suggests that the lai is an early work which Machaut later saw an opportunity of adding to the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*.[18]

Because *B* is identical in its contents to *Vg*, Williams did not think it necessary to add it to the list of manuscripts that have the lai copied with the *Navarre*. It is significant, however, that the lai is not through-copied with the *Navarre* in *Vg* and *B*, as it is in *E* and *M*. As seen in the diagram below, an extra bifolio was added between the seventh and eighth folio of the quire containing the lai, on which the end of the lai was copied. The change in scribes and deviation from the regular system of quires gives the strong impression that there was originally a blank verso after the end of the *Navarre* and beginning of the *Remède*, and that the lai was copied on the blank folio and throughout the extra bifolio. In *Vg* and *B* at least, it does appear that the lai was linked to the *Navarre* as an afterthought.

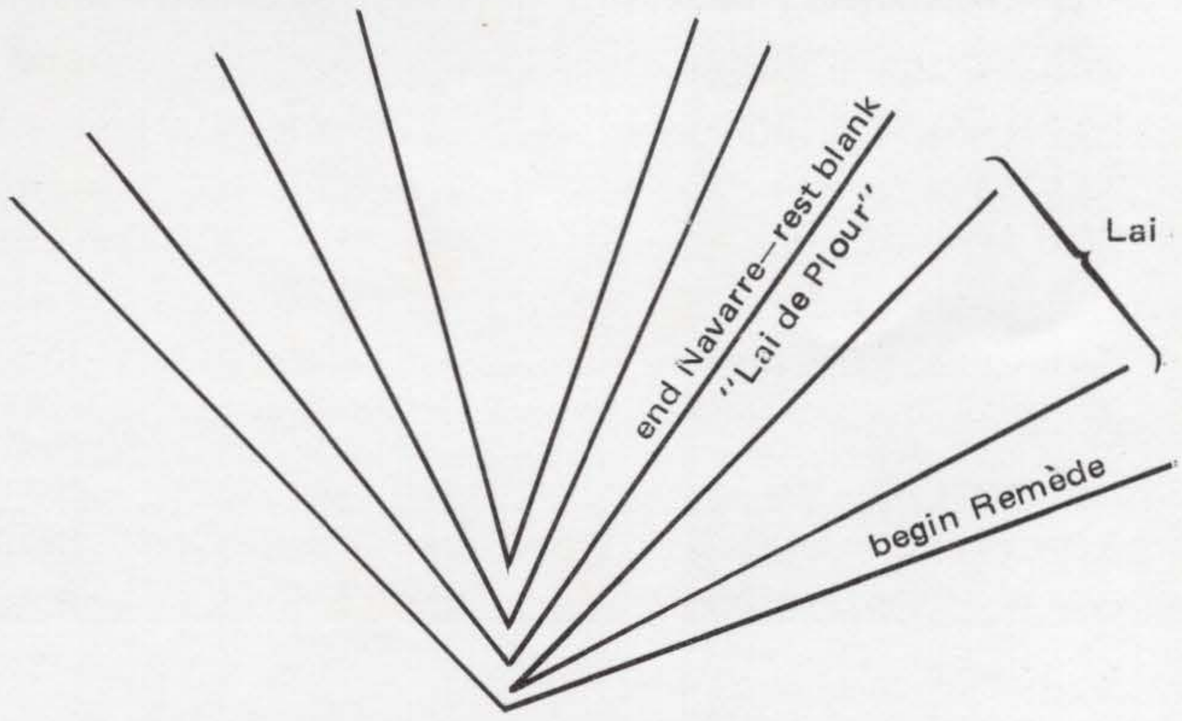


Fig. 2. Layout of the 'Lai de Plour' in B and Vg

During the last twenty-five years, several studies have been undertaken concerning the relationships among the extant manuscripts. The first studies were based on evaluations of contents and analyses of musical style;[19] the current focus is on codicology, paleography, and detailed investigations of musical and textual variants.[20] I predict that if and when all the data are finally collected and evaluated, we shall be faced with a stemma of Machaut's manuscripts much more complicated than Hoepffner ever imagined.

3 *Singers performing from a* rotulus *(manuscript scroll), Bib. nat., Paris, f.fr. 9221,* E, *f.16r*

[1] The best description of the manuscripts is still by Friedrich Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-29), II, 7-44. See also *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM)* B IV²: *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c1320-1400)*, ed. by Gilbert Reaney (Munich, 1969); and Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century; Commentary Notes to Volumes II and III* (Monaco, 1956), pp. 24-54. The manuscripts to be discussed in this article are:
A, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 1584
B, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 1585
C, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 1586
E, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 9221
F-G, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 22545-22546
Vg, New York, Wildenstein & Co. (no number); formerly owned by the Marquis de Vogüé.

[2] Only one of the manuscripts, *K* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 218), was dated by the copyist in 1371. The rest of those manuscripts thought to have been copied during Machaut's lifetime have been dated through analyses of script, illuminations, and contents. Of the above, only *E* and *F-G* show characteristics of having been compiled during the late fourteenth century, perhaps after Machaut's death; the rest are likely candidates for having been compiled during his lifetime.

[3] Manuscript *A*, folio A: 'Vesci lordenance que .G. de Machaut wet quil ait en son livre.'

[4] The most famous medieval forgery, of course, is the *Donation of Constantine*, thought to have been authorized by Constantine, but copied no earlier than the eighth century.

[5] It is Machaut in this latter role that Sarah Jane Williams describes so well in her article, 'An Author's Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut's "Livre ou je met toutes mes choses" ', *Romania*, 90 (1969), 433-54. See also her article in this issue.

[6] Paulin Paris, ed., *Le Livre du Voir-Dit* (Paris, 1875), p. 69: je vous eusse porte mon livre pour vous esbattre, ou toutes les choses sont que je fis onques: mais il est in plus de .xx. pieces; car je l'ay fait faire pour aucun de mes seigneurs.

[7] Schrade, *Commentary*, p. 12.

[8] Ernst Hoepffner, ed., *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908-21), I, xlviii. It is possible that Machaut's 'livre' was among those manuscripts known to be lost. (See Ludwig, *Machaut*, II, 40-42.)

[9] Ursula Günther writes that François Avril of the Bibliothèque nationale has redated *C* from the 15th century to the mid-14th century on the basis of its miniatures.

[10] William D. Wixom, 'A Missal for a King', in *Gothic Art 1360-1440: Catalogue to the Exhibition* (The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963), p. 162.

[11] Gilbert Reaney, 'Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works', *Musica disciplina*, XXI (1967), p. 88.

[12] Professor Harry Bober's impression of *Vg* was that the miniatures and border decorations suggested the Bondol and Jacquemart-Berry traditions of the late 1370s or early '80s. I was struck with the different abilities of the painters in the workshop; the styles in the miniatures change almost as often as they do in *E*.

[13] The best introduction in English to the classifications of medieval hands is 'Latin Paleography' by James J. John in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction* (Syracuse, 1976), pp. 1-68.

[14] My evidence for the structure and redating of *B* was presented in a paper, 'The Importance of Machaut's Paper Manuscript', first delivered to the American Musicological Society at its annual meeting in 1976, and currently being reworked for publication.

[15] The first folio of *Vg*'s music fascicle does show signs of wear, which may indicate that the fascicle existed independently, or that it was once bound first in the manuscript.

[16] The parchment rotulus containing 19½ lines of the 'Lai Mortel' was offered for sale in 1928 by the antiquarian booksellers Maggs Brothers of London. I would be most grateful to learn of the fragment's whereabouts.

[17] Hoepffner, *Machaut*, I, lxxxviii.

[18] Williams, op cit, p. 452.

[19] Sarah Jane Williams, 'The Music of Guillaume de Machaut' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1952); Ursula Günther, 'Chronologie und Stil der Kompositionen Guillaume de Machauts', *Acta musicologica*, XXXV (1963), pp. 96-114; and Gilbert Reaney, 'Towards a Chronology of Machaut's Musical Works', *Musica disciplina*, XXI (1967), pp. 87-96.

[20] Wolfgang Dömling, 'Zur Uberlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts', *Die Musikforschung*, XXII (1969), pp. 189-95; My dissertation, 'A Chronology of the Compositions of Guillaume de Machaut' (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1976); in progress: a Ph.D. dissertation by Jean Harden (Cornell University) on *musica ficta* in the manuscripts and works of Machaut, a Ph.D. dissertation by Lawrence Earp (Princeton University) involving a computer study of musical variants between the manuscripts, an article on *E* by Stanley Boorman, and an iconographical comparison between *Vg* and *A* by Bernard Bailly de Surcy.

'Musica Ficta' in Machaut

JEAN HARDEN

Musica ficta—What does the term mean? The *Harvard Dictionary* defines it this way: 'In the music of the 10th to 16th centuries, the theory of the chromatic or, more properly, nondiatonic tones.' Later in the same article is added, 'In modern musicological writings, *musica ficta* denotes not so much the theory of early chromaticism but the problems arising from the fact that chromatic alterations rarely are indicated in musical sources prior to 1600.'[1] Indeed it is the second of these definitions that comes the more readily to mind. *Musica ficta* has come to mean unnotated accidentals in the original, editorial accidentals in the modern score.

Now, if the accidentals are not indicated in the sources, how does one know when to add them? The answer is a familiar one: The editor works according to what are sometimes called singer's rules: approach a perfect consonance from the nearest imperfect consonance (which amounts in many cases to raising the leading tone); make fifths and octaves perfect; avoid the tritone; lower certain notes in accordance with the rule 'una nota supra *la* semper est canendum *fa*' (one note above *la* is always to be sung *fa*), and so forth. Presumably singers in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance applied these rules automatically. And presumably the modern editor need only do likewise. So what is the problem?

There are several problems. First, the singer's rules tend to conflict with one another. An alteration that brings a passage in line with one rule may very well create a violation of a second rule. Even in passages where the rules do not conflict, it can be difficult to decide how far to push them. As a result, two editors will seldom, if ever, agree as to which accidentals need to be added.

Next, the manuscripts of Machaut's works do in fact include quite a number of explicit accidentals. Moreover, by no means all of these fall outside the realm of singer's rules or resolve a conflict between two rules. Many do nothing more and nothing less than what the singer would have done had the passage remained unmarked, if our understanding of the rules is correct.

This leads to the last problem: is our understanding correct? There would seem to be room for doubt. Most modern writers on *musica ficta* have emphasized the statements of 16th-century theorists, for the very good reason that these men wrote the most on the subject. But can we assume that what was true in, say, 1550 was equally true around 1350? Perhaps Machaut composed with something rather different in mind.

Before addressing the problem of *musica ficta*, I would like to review some medieval music theory, in particular the gamut, the naming of notes, and solmization.

The gamut consists of seven overlapping six-note series, each bearing the syllables *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la*, with a semitone between *mi* and *fa* and whole tones everywhere else. These series, called hexachords, are of three sorts: the hard hexachord, beginning on *g* (gamma in the lowest octave) and having *b* natural, or square *b*, for *mi*; the natural hexachord, beginning on *c* and having no *b* at all; and the soft hexachord, beginning on *f* and having *b* flat, or round *b*, for *fa*. The complete system is shown in diagram I.

Diagram I: the gamut

e′						la
d′					la	sol
c′					sol	fa
♮′						mi
b′					fa	
a′				la	mi	re
g				sol	re	ut
f				fa	ut	
e			la	mi		
d		la	sol	re		
c		sol	fa	ut		
♮			mi			
b		fa				
a	la	mi	re			
G	sol	re	ut			
F	fa	ut				
E	la	mi				
D	sol	re				
C	fa	ut				
B	mi					
A	re					
Γ	ut					

In theoretical discussions a specific note is named with its letter and all of its syllables; thus, middle *c* is called *c sol fa ut*. Single syllables indicate not a par-

ticular note but the relation of one note to its neighbours. A note is called *mi* to show that it has a semitone above and a whole tone below, regardless of its letter name. The interval *fa* to *la* is a major third, *re* to *fa* a minor third, in any hexachord. Both *re* to *sol* and *mi* to *la* are perfect fourths, but the syllables tell that the former has the internal structure tone-semitone-tone, while the latter has semitone-tone-tone.

In singing melodies, as in defining intervals, one uses by preference syllables from a single hexachord. For instance, if a melody begins on *C fa ut* and moves upward beyond *E la mi*, the singer will choose the natural hexachord, saying *ut* on *C*, *re* on *D*, *mi* on *E*, and so forth. If, however, the melody first moves downward from *C*, the hard hexachord is employed, with *fa* on *C*, *mi* on *B*, and so forth.

Melodies which require notes outside the compass of a single hexachord can be solmized through the device of mutation, that is, the changing from one syllable to another on a single pitch. If after going below *C fa ut* a melody then ascends beyond *E la mi*, two hexachords must be used in turn. Example 1 shows how this is done: the first seven notes lie in the hard hexachord, but the eighth does not. A mutation has to be made in order to give a syllable to the *F*. One generally reserves the change for the last possible moment. Here, *D* is the logical pivot point. One first says (or thinks) *sol*, which comes from the hard hexachord, then changes to *re*, from the natural hexachord. The remainder of the tune then fits easily into place. (See Example 1.)

Only the syllables included in the name of a note may be used in a mutation on that note; for instance, *G sol re ut* may become *sol* or *re* or *ut* but not *mi* or *fa* or *la*. Regular mutation, then, is a device for moving around within the gamut, not for obtaining notes outside the gamut.

This system—the gamut, the hexachords, the syllables, and the procedure of solmization with mutation—is the basic material with which the medieval musician worked. It is *musica recta* or *musica vera*, right or true music. What then is *musica ficta*? *Musica ficta* is whatever does not conform to the system of *musica recta*: the use of any syllable on a note to which it does not properly belong in the gamut, or the placing of a semitone where a tone normally occurs or a tone where a semitone normally occurs. This is the way in which Machaut would have understood the term.

Clearly, putting tones or semitones where they do not ordinarily occur in the gamut means using sharps or flats; but it may not be altogether evident at first glance that using syllables on notes to which they do not properly belong comes to the same thing. To see how this works, consider what happens if you say *fa* on *g sol re ut*. *Fa* always has *mi* just below, a semitone away. But there is no note a semitone below *g* in the gamut; there is only *f* a tone below. The solution is to make up a new note, to imagine a note that is 'not there' in the gamut, *f* sharp, and to call that *mi*.

Notice that this quality of being 'not there' has nothing whatsoever to do with being written or not written; it depends entirely on the definition of the gamut. What is in the gamut is 'there'; what is outside the gamut is 'not there'. In fact it now appears that in Machaut's time *musica ficta* was usually described as a written practice. One was expected to indicate *ficta* with sharps or flats written plainly in the music.

What of the singer's rules, then? They have little place in this repertory, I think. Theorists do mention (not always with approval) that singers sometimes raise leading tones at cadences and that in certain contexts *b* may be flat *sine signo*—without a sign—in order to avoid a melodic tritone with *F*. Thus far, there is some justification for adding accidentals where none appear in the manuscripts. But the *una nota* rule comes from the Renaissance, if not later; it can hardly apply to music written before it was formulated. The other singer's rules have been drawn either from rules of composition or from philosophical arguments justifying the very existence of notes outside the gamut. These, like the definition of *musica ficta*, have simply nothing to do with whether accidentals should be written. They tell us why sharps and flats are used (and this may help us to rectify a passage that has evidently gone wrong in copying), but they do not tell us to add accidentals where we see none.

Why then is there any difficulty in getting the accidentals right in Machaut's works? Is it not enough to look at the manuscripts, read the accidentals, and write them into our edition? Unfortunately, it is not as simple as that, for two reasons. First, we have more than one manuscript, and hand-made copies being what they are, no two agree in all details. Second, even when we are certain that an accidental belongs in a piece, we may not know precisely how to interpret it.

At least the basic meaning of accidentals is clear from what theorists say of them. There are two signs of *musica ficta*, the flat and the sharp. (The natural is a

graphic variant of the sharp and has the same meaning.) The flat derives from round *b*, which is *fa* or *b* flat in the soft hexachord. The sharp derives from square *b*, which is *mi* or *b* natural in the hard hexachord. These signs may be placed not only on the note *b* but also on any other note, and they take with them their syllables. Wherever round *b* is used, one sings *fa*; where square *b* is used, one sings *mi*. The designated note and its neighbours are to be adjusted to form the correct intervals around this *fa* or *mi*. Thus a single accidental actually governs six notes; it determines an entire hexachord.

The theorists do not tell us, however, nearly as much as we would like to know about how long an accidental is to stay in effect once it has been stated. A few who do mention the subject seem to indicate that an accidental is to stay in effect until it is explicitly contradicted, yet this seldom works out in practice, for complex reasons.

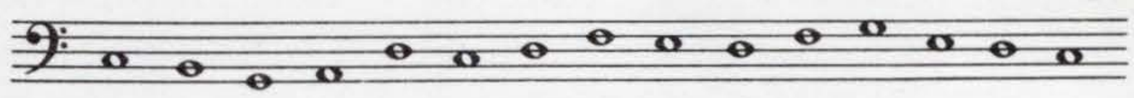
You can see for yourself how well it works in the Machaut ballade published in this issue. Try playing it through, keeping each accidental (like a key signature) once you have had it in your part. Think in hexachords: *F*♯ gives *D-E-F*♯*-G-a-b*♮ ; *c*♯ gives *a-b-c*♯*-d-e-f*♯; *b*♭ gives *F-G-a-b*♭*-c-d*. Keep the hexachord until you come to a new accidental that changes one of its notes; then change to the new hexachord. (Remember that two hexachords may overlap if they do not contradict each other.) Pay attention only to the accidentals on the stave, not to those above.

An alternate interpretation is that each accidental affects no more than a single note. To try how this works, play the ballade again, using each accidental once only and returning immediately to the natural form. As a third experiment try keeping each accidental and its hexachord as long as your part remains within the range *ut* to *la*, but return to natural notes as soon as it goes even one note beyond this range.

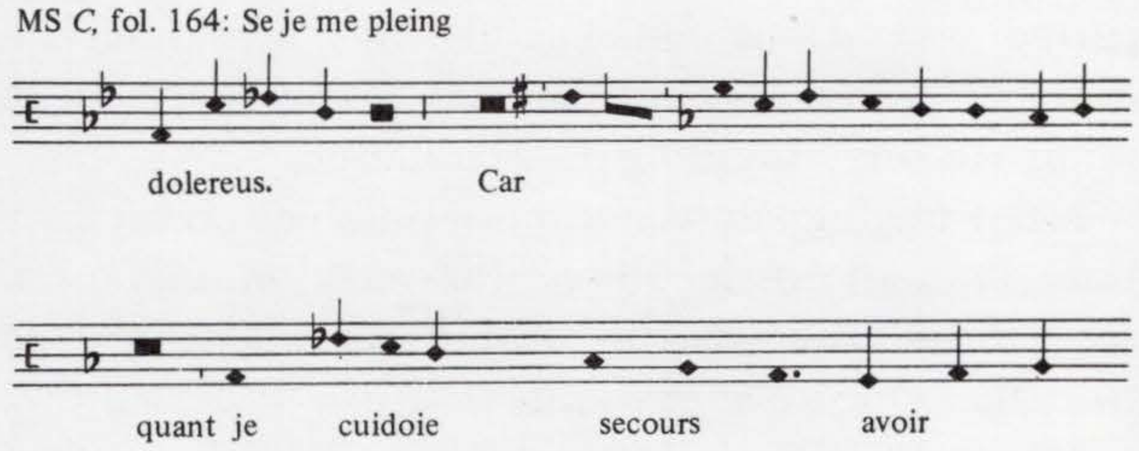
These experiments will give you some idea of the choices open to the editor even when he has only a single version to deal with. In reality, since manuscript copies almost never agree with each other in every detail, the actual range of choice is still wider.

You have doubtless concluded that none of these experimental versions is wholly satisfactory. Yet it seems likely that each of the three procedures may be correct in certain situations. The problem is how to decide which one to use in a particular case. This is work for someone with all the manuscripts at hand and ample leisure to study them, for the clues lie in the

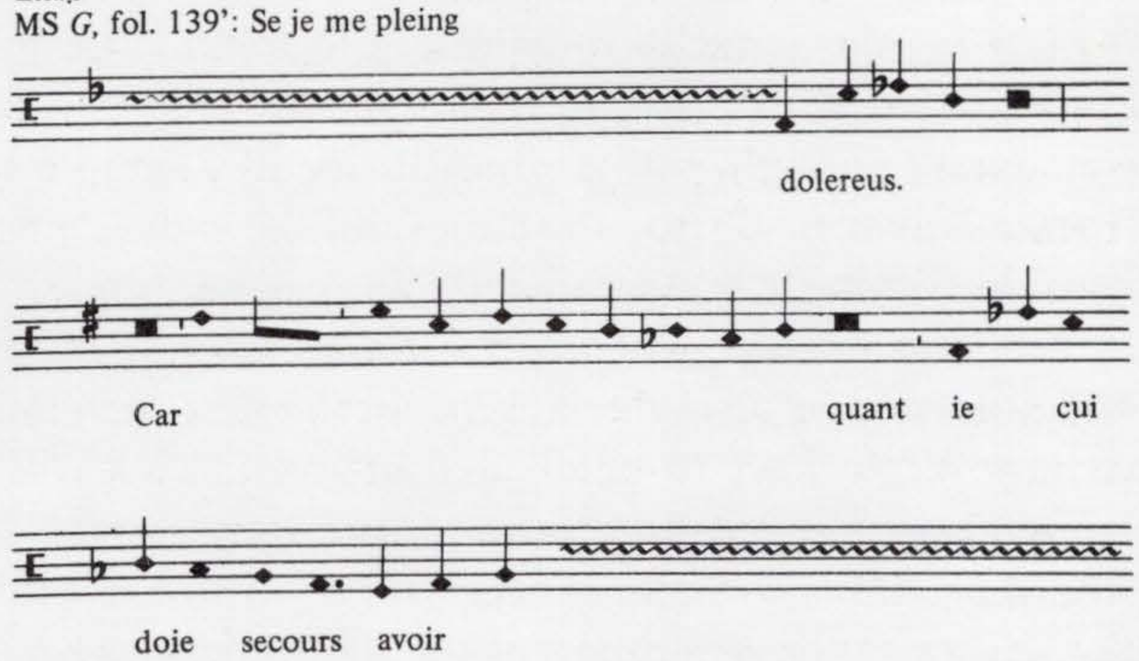
Ex. 1

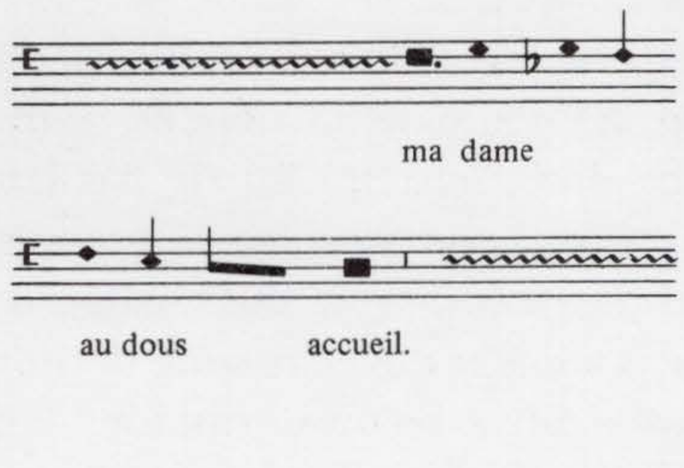


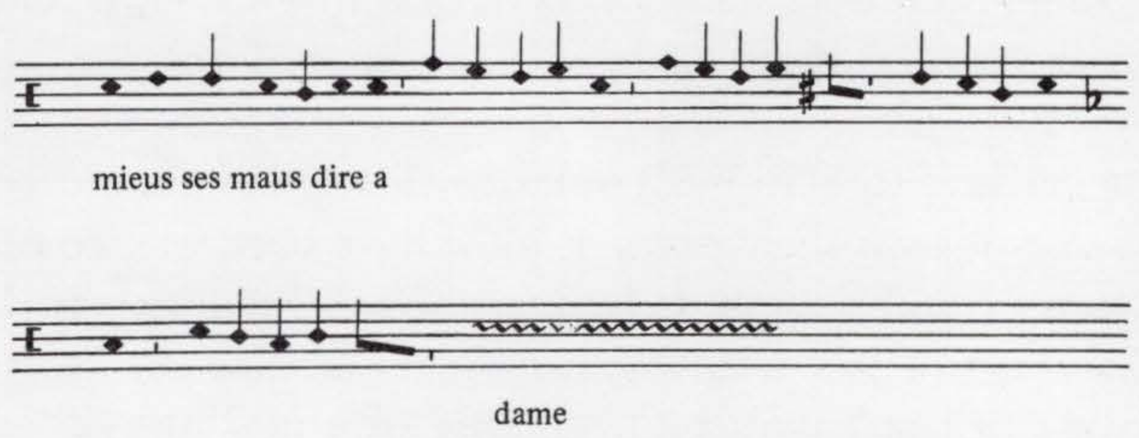
Ex. 2
MS *C*, fol. 164: Se je me pleing



Ex. 3
MS *G*, fol. 139': Se je me pleing



Ex. 4
MS *G*, fol. 138': Pour ce que tous mes chans

Ex. 5
MS *G*, fol. 152: Comment puet on mieus



way the music was written down. In general, one manuscript transmits essentially the same musical text as another, but each scribe's procedures and his understanding of his task inevitably left a mark on the final copy. By analysing what we see there, we can deduce a great deal about how these particular men of the 14th century understood this music. By comparing the various copies (and hence seeing several different points of view), we may finally arrive at an improved understanding of the notation.

A thorough analysis is a more suitable subject for a book than an article. Here I can mention only a few cases to illustrate what sorts of things can be inferred from the evidence left by scribes.

Manuscript *C* includes work by two music scribes, of which I want to consider only one.[2] This scribe's copies are done on two columns to a page and hence on short staves. He seems to have taken care to place accidentals on the same stave as the note to which they apply, as you can see in Example 2. This seems elementary enough, but as you can see in Example 4 from manuscript *G*, not all scribes did the same. Now consider Scribe *C*'s dilemma if his exemplar had a rather long passage with several *b*'s all on one stave and governed by a single flat sign. In the new copy the passage might have to be divided between two staves. If even one *b* ended up on the second stave, Scribe *C* would probably consider it necessary to write a second flat, either at the beginning of the line or somewhere else before the *b* that had become separated. The result is that there may be two flat signs where previously there had been only one, but the meaning of the passage will remain the same.

Scribe *C* has done a good job of this, so good in fact that we cannot be sure he really made any additions. But consider the scribe of manuscript *G*. He has left more evidence. Again the copies are on relatively short staves, but peculiar things happen at the change of lines. Sometimes there is a flat at the beginning of only every second line, but the music seems to call for *b* flat throughout. Sometimes an accidental is written toward the end of a stave, but the note to which it must apply comes on the stave below, as in Example 4. Sometimes an accidental is put as the very last symbol on a line, as in Example 5. If Scribe *G*'s exemplar was written according to Scribe *C*'s rules, with accidentals on the same stave as their notes, it must have been written on staves roughly twice as long as those in manuscript *G*. And no matter what his exemplar was like, Scribe *G* did not think that the beginning of a new line called for reiteration of any accidentals currently in effect. By the same token, he probably was not adding accidentals as he copied, to adjust the notation to his format.

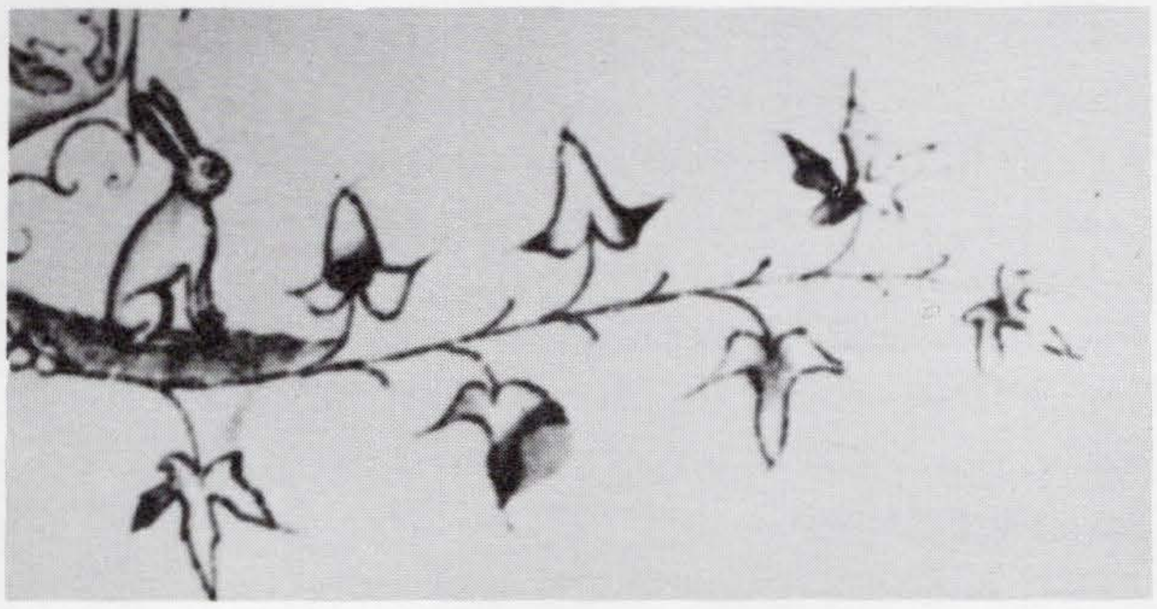
Finally, let us consider manuscript *E*. This copy is on very long staves and illustrates the other end of the spectrum from *C*'s full complement of accidentals. Scribe *E* seems to have valued economy of means above all else. Far from adding accidentals for clarity's sake, he seems to have removed as many duplications as possible—and sometimes a few essential accidentals as well—leaving whole lines of music to be governed by a single sign. Sometimes he has moved an accidental over a little to make it come out in a more convenient spot—a procedure not peculiar to him, as you can see by comparing Examples 2 and 3, copies of the same passage in manuscripts *C* and *G*. In the examples no serious confusion results when the flat in the melisma on '*Car*' is moved. At most, the version in manuscript *C* raises a slight doubt about the minim *e*: is it still natural, or does the flat's placement imply something else? But Scribe *E* outfoxes himself on occasion. The rondeau *Sans cuer, dolens* appears twice in manuscript *E*, once in the music fascicles and once in the *Voir Dit*. The two copies are identical down to the last detail except for length of lines and the placement of the one flat in the Tenor. This flat can apply to only one note. There is no choice. In one copy it appears at the beginning of the last stave, and the note soon follows. In the other copy, however, the notation is slightly more compact and the place for the flat comes toward the end of the first stave. But instead of putting the sign so close to the end of a line, the scribe saves it for the beginning of the next, failing to notice that the one note that needs to be flatted now appears on the first stave. The *b* stays natural and the flat is futile. By making what is usually a harmless adjustment in placement, Scribe *E* has here spoiled the musical meaning.

These examples demonstrate a few of the things that can change in the copying process. If we pursue this investigation far enough, we may eventually be able to make intelligent guesses about what scribes meant to convey or what the manuscripts from which they were copying said. To push our guesses farther back than that is hazardous. We would like to know what Machaut himself wrote, but this we cannot do, since the originals are lost. We must keep in mind that what we see in the manuscripts is not necessarily a direct indication of Machaut's intended meaning. Rather we

see reflections of the way certain scribes understood his meaning. For this reason we must also investigate and keep in mind each scribe's apparent knowledge of music and skill in copying, as far as we can deduce such things. We can watch for the results of a misunderstanding on the copyist's part and may on occasion be able to resolve a puzzling situation by hypothesizing that the scribe has understood incorrectly.

We see an example of this, I think, in the ballade edited in this issue. In measure 16 the Cantus has *e♭*. This accidental appears only in manuscript *E*, which is by far the least trustworthy of the major manuscripts. Because a flat appears in this measure or the next in all the other manuscripts, but in each case as *b♭* at the beginning of a new stave, I suspect that the *e♭* in manuscript *E* was in origin not an *e♭* at all but a *b♭*, miscopied here from another manuscript that began a new stave at this point. Whether any flat at all belongs in this measure may be doubted. One family of manuscripts says yes; the other says no. In such a case one can hardly be sure; but since the copy I find most reliable on the whole puts the first flat just after this measure, I am inclined to prefer *b* natural as well as *e* natural in measure 16, leaving *b♭* for the next phrase. You may try it both ways and see which one you prefer. Beyond a certain point that may be the best any of us can do.

[1] Willi Apel: *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 2nd ed., 1969) article 'Musica ficta, musica falsa', pp. 549-550.
[2] Manuscripts:
C: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. f. fr. 1586
E: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. f. fr. 9221
G: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. f. fr. 22546
I have resorted to the short form 'Scribe *C*' instead of repeating every time 'the scribe of manuscript *C*', and likewise for the other manuscripts.



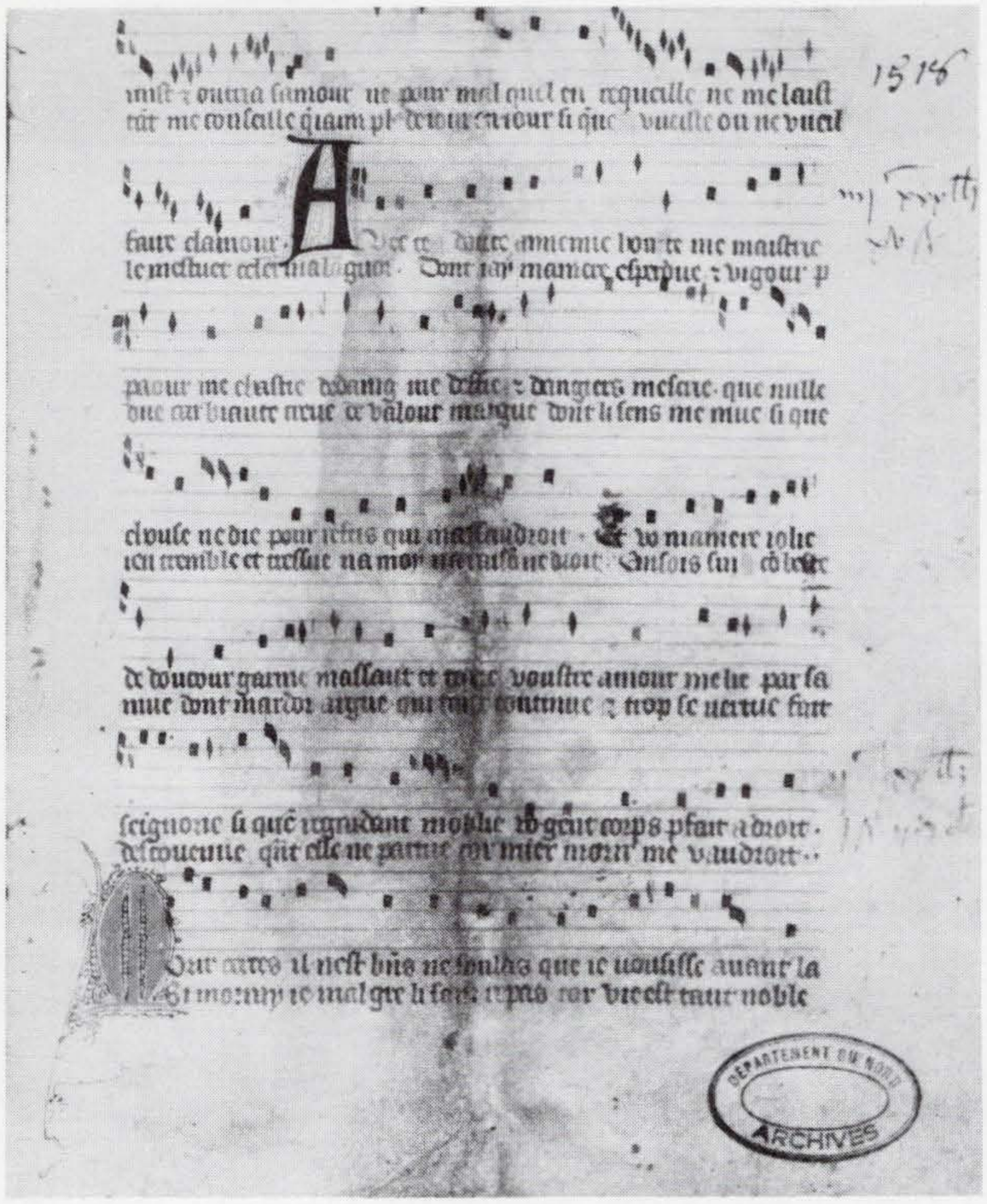
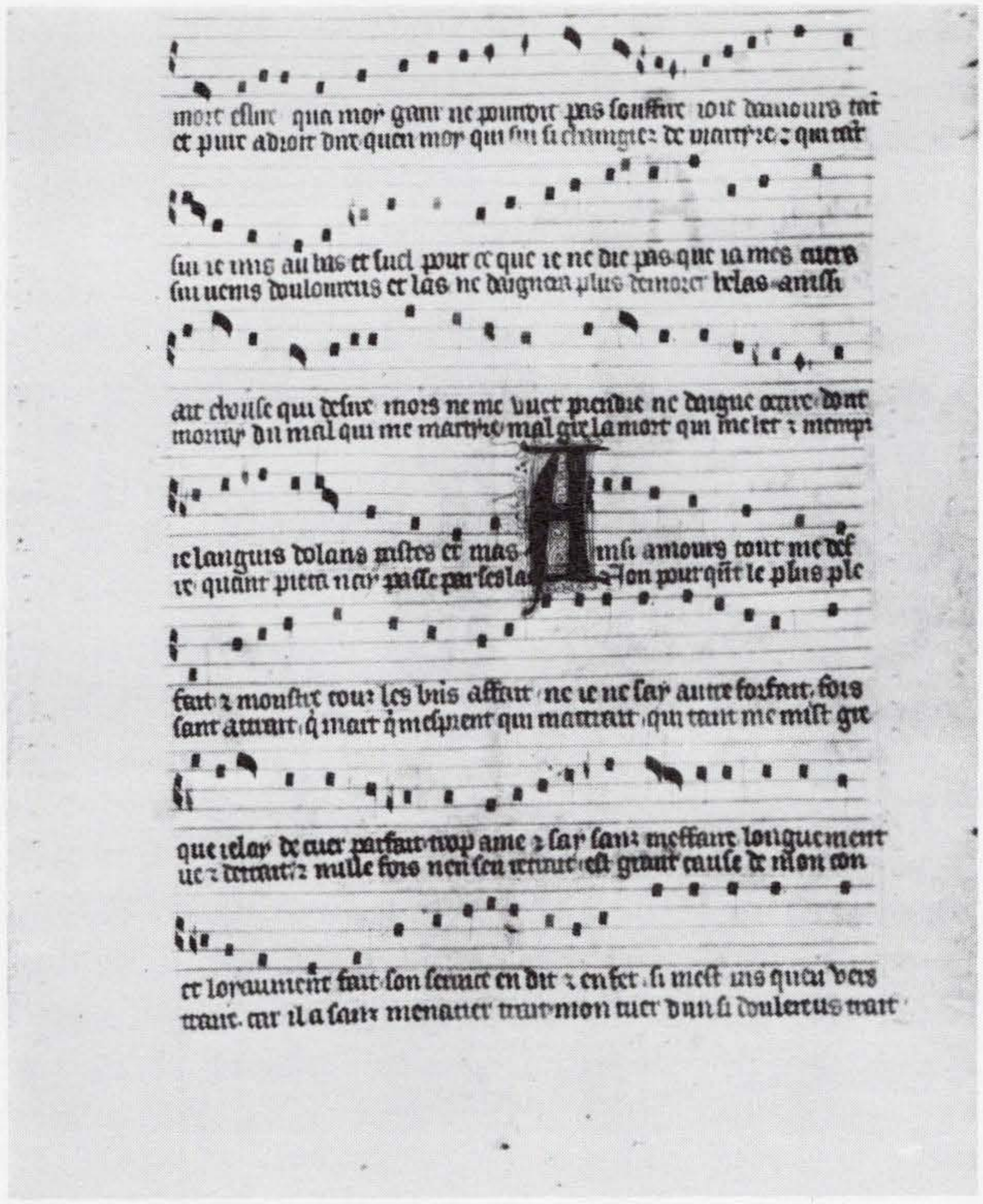
Guillaume de Machaut and the Lai

A new source

DAVID FALLOWS

In all the main sources of Machaut's work the musical section begins with the genre that has been most persistently ignored by modern critics and performers:[1] the lai. This neglect is easily explained: apart from a few traces of polyphony which are difficult to interpret, Machaut's lais are monophonic; and they are immensely long, mostly reaching the length of a classical symphony—between 15 and 25 minutes. But since Machaut apparently chose the order of pieces in those manuscripts it is possible that he placed the lais first because he thought they had some special significance, some qualities to justify that position.

Among medieval song forms the lai holds a special position in being the most extended and in being, to all intents and purposes, through-composed. Anyone glancing through the songbooks of the troubadour, trouvère or Minnesang repertories will be struck by the way the preponderant series of brief tunes with their many stanzas of poetry after them is occasionally interrupted by a lai whose music fills four or five pages of manuscript. It is a form with a confusing history,[2] for in many ways it seems to derive from the Latin sequence in its preference for repeating each section of melody with new text before moving on to the next—a doubled versicle structure which in the later lai developed into a quadrupled versicle. The sequence and the lai also stand alone in medieval music as works that require of their composer a careful and systematic consideration of large-scale form. While it is true that the liturgical music of the Middle Ages includes some immensely long schemes, these are assembled from different sections whose music is often several centuries apart in composition date. Each lai or



Figs. 1 and 2. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, MS 134, fragment containing part of Machaut's lai Pour ce qu'on puist. *The recto (on the left) begins before the end of the fourth stanza (see end of ex. 1). The blue initial 'A' denotes the beginning of the fifth stanza; the sixth stanza begins with the red 'M' at the bottom of the page and continues onto the verso (on the right); the seventh stanza is almost complete, beginning with the blue 'A' half way down the verso. Many of the notes have stems that are not clearly visible on the photograph or on the original.*

sequence, on the other hand, constitutes a single unified musical structure.

It is worth mentioning, too, that this intricate poetic form is often called the 'lyric lai' to distinguish it from the 'narrative lai', an entirely different and apparently unrelated poetic form in isosyllabic couplets. The most famous examples of the narrative lai are those of Marie de France.

Among lyric lais with music Machaut's works stand as the last and the longest examples. Although there are many poems in lai form, stretching from the early 13th century until the very end of the 15th, the surviving musical repertory of the lai is relatively small: a mere 43 examples can be found from before the 14th century; a further four appear in the early 14th-century transitional anthology, the *Roman de Fauvel*; and no fewer than 19 stem from Machaut himself.[3]

While most of Machaut's music is still confined to the library editions by Ludwig (with Besseler) and Schrade,[4] the lais are now available in pocket score format: the firm of Edwin F. Kalmus has recently issued a reprint[5] of the last volume of Ludwig's edition, that prepared by Besseler from Ludwig's literary estate and beginning with the famous Mass. The Mass was the main reason for the reprint, but the volume is especially welcome in including the lais; and although the critical notes have been omitted in the reprint all the music is there, waiting to be used.

But the real excuse for a discussion of one of Machaut's lais here is the presence in Lille of an unrecognized parchment leaf[6] (figs. 1 and 2) containing a substantial section of Machaut's lai no. 3, *Pour ce qu'on puist*. I have elsewhere mentioned the fragment in passing,[7] but this may be the right occasion to describe it more fully and to draw some conclusions.

In an article about musical fragments at Lille, published in 1920, Paul Bayart listed the leaf merely as 'a fragment containing chansons, perhaps from the 13th century, to which we shall return'.[8] Apparently he never did so and therefore had no opportunity to revise his guess that the music, which appears in all the Machaut manuscripts and is unquestionably by him,

might come from the preceding century; but it is worth pausing to reconstruct Bayart's probable reasons for suggesting that date. In format, layout, scribal style and decoration the leaf is indeed far more reminiscent of the trouvère manuscripts than of those containing Machaut's works: with dimensions of approximately 16×13 centimetres, and seven red staves per page, it is remarkably similar in size to such trouvère sources in the Bibliothèque Nationale as the Clairambault manuscript (n. a. fr. 1050), the Cangé chansonnier (f. fr. 846) and other less famous sources such as f. fr. 845, and f. fr. 1591.[9] The manuscripts containing Machaut's works, on the other hand, are all at least half as large again in both dimensions.[10] And although many trouvère manuscripts are written in double columns, the single-column format of the Lille fragment appears also in such trouvère sources as f. fr. 1591 and the Noailles chansonnier (f. fr. 12615), a manuscript with a particularly large collection of lais.

In the Lille fragment each section of the lai begins with a large decorated initial that cuts right across the stave and has filigree around the edge: these initials are alternately red and blue with the filigree around them blue and red respectively. Again, the closest comparison among musical manuscripts is the Clairambault trouvère source (n. a. fr. 1050) where, for instance, the decorated 'M' on f. 69*v* (see fig. 3) could well have been done by the same hand that decorated the Lille fragment; and indeed it seems quite possible that the text and the music of Lille were done by the Clairambault scribe.

So Bayart, without giving the music on the Lille leaf any very careful scrutiny, had recognized that its outward appearance was that of the trouvère chansonniers; and he expressed caution about his date because he knew that there was some doubt in the dating of most of the surviving trouvère sources. Raynaud's proposed dating for the Clairambault chansonnier as late 13th century[11] has always been in some doubt; but it is now possible to suggest, on the basis of its scribal similarity to the Lille leaf, that it must have been compiled after about 1320, the earliest date at which Machaut is likely to have written any music. The trouvère manuscripts are all difficult to date, however: the received opinion is based largely on *termini post quem* (because of the trouvères represented in them) and on a paleographical appraisal that often relies on the similarity of manuscripts whose dates are themselves not entirely certain. If further paleographical study should confirm my suspicion that

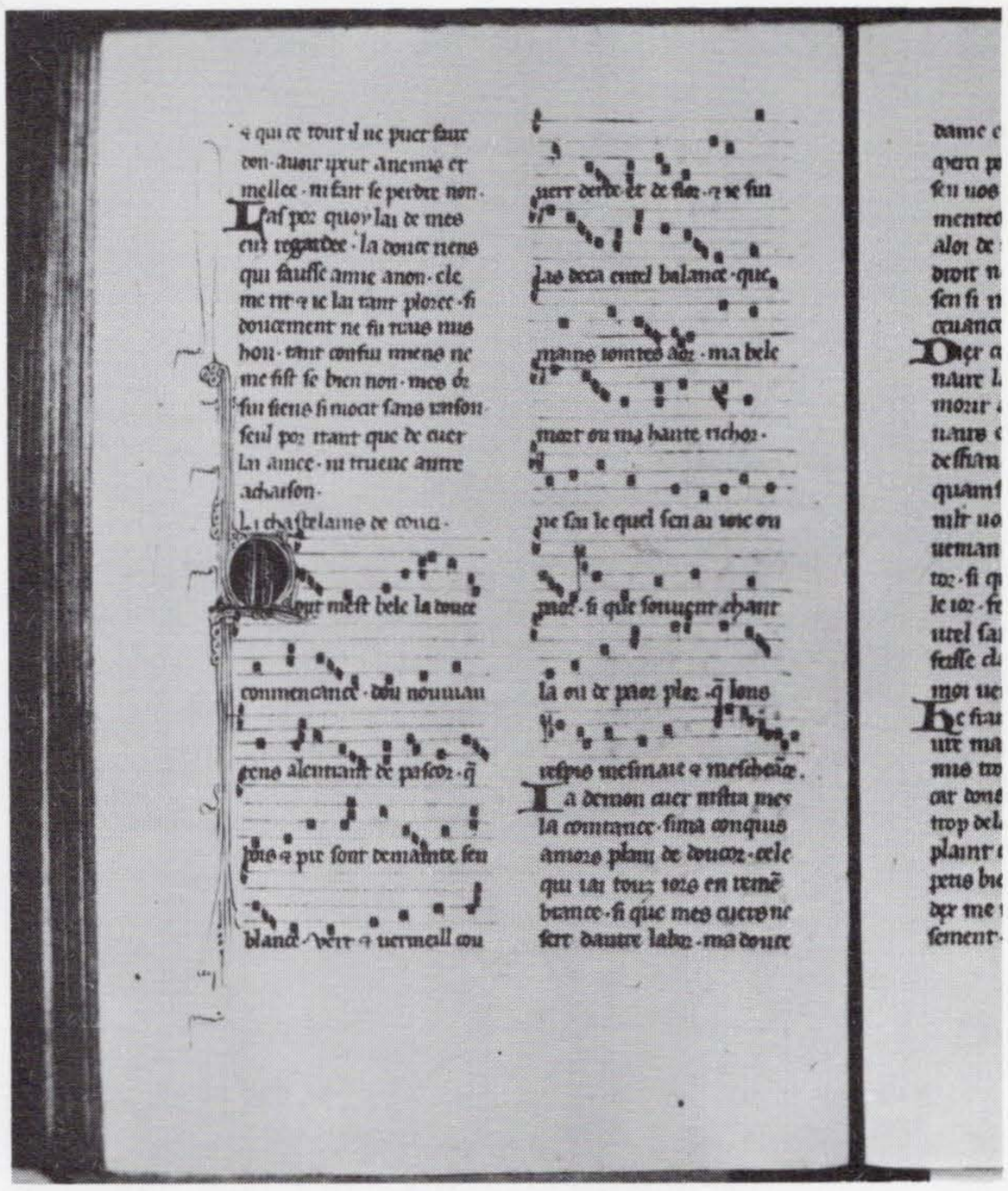


Fig. 3. The 'Clairambault' manuscript, Paris, Bib. nat., n.a.fr. 1050, f.69v

Clairambault and the Lille fragment were prepared by the same scribe, or even in the same shop, that could give rise to a substantial revision of the dates for many other trouvère sources.

But how extensive could such a reappraisal be? Particularly in view of the small scope of the Lille fragment and the relatively unassuming manner of its illuminations, it might be difficult to establish any certain connections. And a further complication is that a related style of illumination appears in one of the main Machaut manuscripts, the one known as 'C' (f. fr. 1586):[12] this is a larger and much more expensively prepared manuscript with the decorated initials alternating blue and gold—but again the surrounding filigree alternates red and blue, just as in Lille and Clairambault. There is room, obviously, for a considerably more extensive paleographical study of the trouvère sources and those of Machaut.[13]

Yet it seems clear that the Lille leaf belonged to a manuscript entirely different from the surviving Machaut sources: on the basis of its scribal style it is probably the earliest surviving source of Machaut music by a considerable margin;[14] and to judge from its small size it probably contained no polyphony, since no known polyphonic source of French provenance has dimensions of less than 20×15

centimetres, and the single manuscript of that size is primarily devoted to theoretical treatises.[15]

In any case the format of the fragment suggests a far more direct connection between Machaut and the trouvère repertory than could previously be documented: particularly that it should be a lai that was copied in a source whose layout is so close to those of the trouvère tradition strongly suggests that somebody at the time thought of Machaut's monophonic music in the context of the trouvères—a conclusion that is hardly surprising in view of the extensive 14th-century interest in trouvère music attested by the copying of so many of the surviving trouvère manuscripts during Machaut's lifetime.

With that in mind it seems worth examining the lai in the new fragment—even though the piece itself has been known for a long time from the larger Machaut manuscripts—to see where its qualities lie and to attempt to arouse some interest in the Cinderella of Machaut's musical forms.

Like all but one of Machaut's lais, *Pour ce qu'on puist* has 12 stanzas; and as in all his lais, the music as well as the rhyme-scheme for the first and last stanzas is identical.[16] But each of the other stanzas has a metre and a rhyme-scheme of its own. The different rhyme patterns of the stanzas serve merely to keep a variety of sound and have no further structural significance except that each new stanza is clearly marked by that change of rhyme-syllable. The metrical scheme, on the other hand, has more function than mere variety: the lines vary in length from stanza to stanza between three, four, five, six, seven, eight and ten syllables, creating a gradation of tension and excitement which combines with the musical rhythm to control the shape of the entire song.

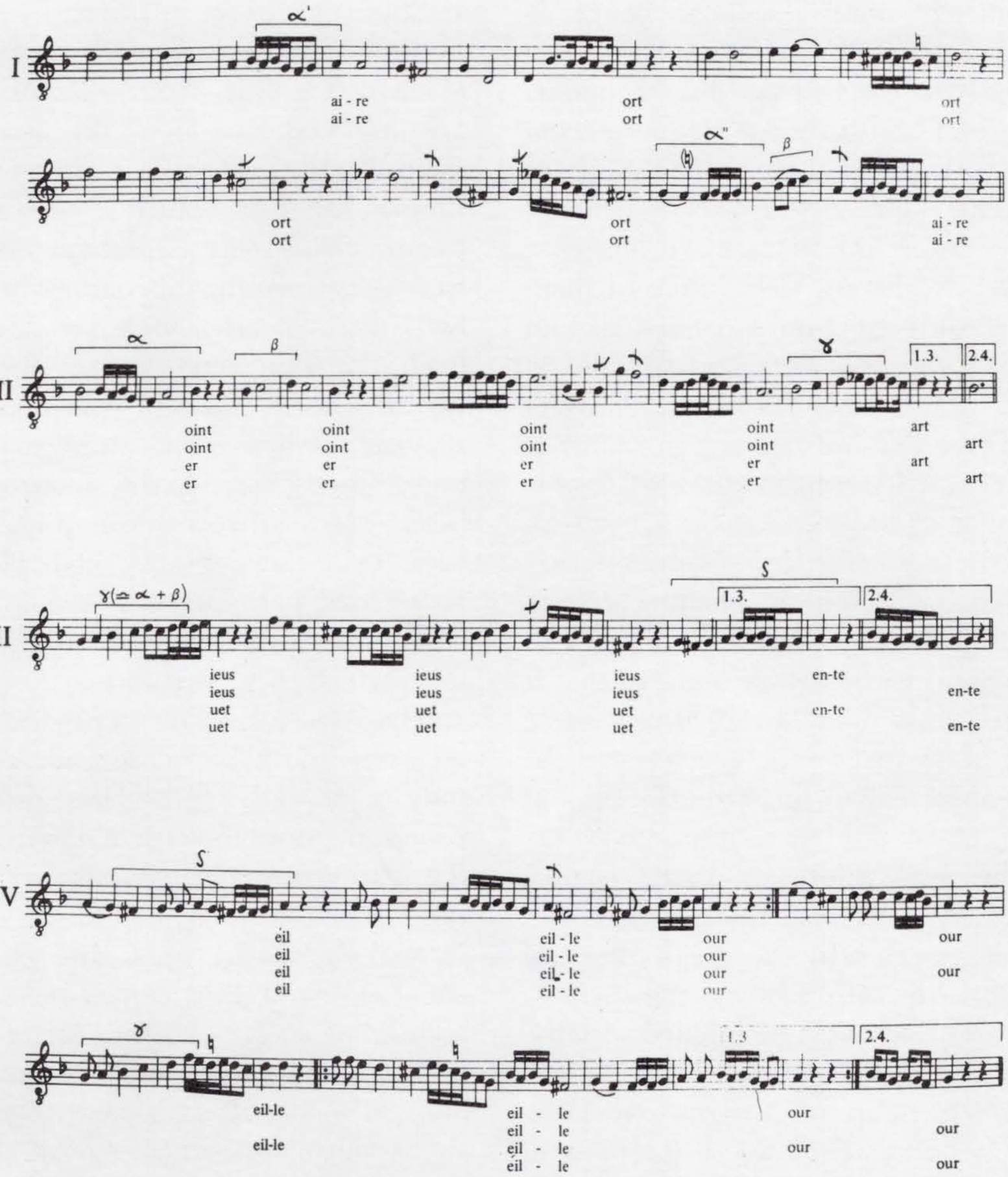
The attached representation of the opening stanzas (ex. 1) omits the texts, partly to save space and partly to direct attention towards the rhyme-scheme and the metre of the poetry as they relate to the music. For the final dimension, the actual texts, the reader can always refer to the available editions: the sound of the words is in many ways fundamental to the music of the song, just as their meaning is directly relevant to the sense of the piece; but the isolation of the musical and metrical components in the example draws attention to a surprisingly large proportion of the song's qualities.

For instance, it shows how each line of poetry is matched by a musical phrase. But more important, since the notes for each syllable are under a single beam or slur, it can show how the leisurely first stanza with its eight-syllable lines and four-bar phrases changes in the second stanza to five-syllable lines and three-bar phrases; and how in the third stanza the phrase-length remains the same but the six-syllable line within that phrase results in an increase of syllable rate; it shows, moreover, that in the fourth stanza the phrase-length remains the same as in the third but an extra syllable is added to the line and the more irregular delivery of the syllables within each phrase adds again to the extremely careful increase of tension Machaut has been building over these four stanzas.

That same increase of tension might have been matched in melodic terms; but the piece has only just begun and the careful composer will hold some devices in reserve. So each of those four stanzas covers exactly the same melodic range apart from a single low D in the first stanza and a single high G in the second. Some other things seem more important in these early stanzas: in particular there is a careful development of melodic details, a development that can be hinted at by diagrams and descriptions but is rather more subtle than is easily expressed in a few words. It is clear, for instance, that the second stanza takes off from two figures (α and β) that are already outlined towards the end of the preceding stanza; but it is difficult to say quite how these relate to the ideas at the beginning of the first stanza unless one observes that the first stanza itself thereby has a kind of symmetry with certain melodic germs that provide the starting point for the next stanza. In the same way the third stanza begins with a shape (γ) which is prefigured at the end of the second stanza but which also looks back to those two figures at the beginning of the same stanza.

Similarly, the fourth stanza builds on the closing melisma of the third. And one could continue by pointing to further details within each stanza, all characteristic of Machaut and his generation whereas they are scarcely to be found in, for instance, the chant repertories. The interested reader can pursue the analysis of this lai further with the aid of his ear and, possibly, his pencil. But somehow these details are all just part of the sheer limpidity of the melodic line—a limpidity that is perhaps rather different from that found in Brahms, or even in Dufay, but one demanding a leisurely delivery from the singer and strongly reliant on the sound-quality of the words.

What is possibly concealed by the musical diagram in ex. 1 is that the first four stanzas do last a full five minutes. There are many details of the way one phrase contrasts with or balances the previous one; but over

Ex. 1 Opening section of lai *Pour ce qu'on puist,* reduced from Ludwig/Besseler edition

Note: the signs ⏄ and ⏃ represent ascending and descending plicas, interpreted by adding the next higher or lower note and giving it half the value of the plicated note.

and above that the gentle development is clearly far more important, a continuously evolving melodic line matched with a gradually increasing metrical tension —something which, over that span of time, is a challenge to any singer's control.

What the diagram cannot show is that the third stanza is the first moment at which the singer addresses his lady directly: until then he has merely sung of his sorrow in abstract terms, and many of Machaut's lais (and other lyrics) describe the loved one in the third person throughout; but in *Pour ce qu'on puist* the change to the second person form at this point adds significantly to the growing directness of approach, and so also to the tension.

An entirely new mood is set in the fifth stanza with an emphasis of the lower register, use of longer note values and a new metrical scheme. Here for the first time the opening melody does not spring naturally from the end of the preceding stanza; and it is obvious that a performer will need to mark that point as the beginning of a new section within the song. One further feature of the diagram helps to show how the

performer can give those first four stanzas their own symmetry: the rhyme-scheme of the second and third stanzas is approximately similar, with a change of rhyme in mid-stanza and the two halves united by only a closing rhyme, whereas the first and fourth stanzas both have a more evenly distributed rhyme-scheme that remains constant throughout. So the last stanza of the section is to some extent a return to the rhyme-pattern of the first. These four stanzas are therefore made a unit in several different ways, none of them very pronounced, all of them, I think, evidence of an extremely subtle and sophisticated musical mind.

It would be over-fastidious to continue discussing the rest of the lai in even that much detail, but some of the main features are worth noting. Stanzas 5-9 form a unit by having similar melodic connections but with contrasts of range characterizing the individual stanzas in a way that had been avoided in the opening section. The seventh stanza provides a centre-point to this second section, but also to the whole song in that it begins, as no other stanza does, with a direct quote from the beginning of the first stanza (which is itself, as I have said, repeated exactly to form the twelfth and final stanza).

But probably the most important single change between the lais of Machaut and those of his predecessors was made possible by the crucial musical development of the early 14th century, the increasingly complex rhythms that could be notated with the techniques of the Ars Nova. While there is still considerable disagreement as to how exactly 13th-century monophonic notation should be interpreted, it is clear that there was no way of notating unambiguously more than two or at the most three different note-values; but Machaut, with all the devices of the Ars Nova at his fingertips, could include an enormous range of note-values—in our transcription ranging from the semiquaver to the dotted breve. That inevitably made it possible for Machaut to introduce changes of pace with slower and faster note-values: the most startling example is perhaps at the fifth stanza of *Pour ce qu'on puist* where the semiquavers that had dominated the opening sections are discarded, appearing only once in the fifth stanza and then not again until the final stanza. The same can be seen in the third large section of the lai, comprising the tenth and eleventh stanzas, where the longer note-values of what we have called the 'middle section' are replaced by an almost uninterrupted series of simple crotchets—the only section of the song where all the note-values are even. That section in its turn leads gracefully to the final stanza which recapitulates the rhyme, the metre and the music of the opening.

There are several other respects in which the Machaut lais differ from those of the trouvères in the previous century. First, the standard twelve-stanza structure: the trouvère lais had no standard length, but simply ran their course to whatever length seemed suitable; and there is perhaps no other symptom so clearly representing the manner in which Machaut and his contemporaries took the shapes they inherited from the 13th century than in the lai, where the extended form was now organized in an almost Procrustean fashion. The need to rationalize and to impose rules is seen in the Machaut lais just as it is seen in the rules of troubadour poetry laid down by the societies of the 'gai saber' in Toulouse and elsewhere. One could perhaps have seen it in Machaut's other lyric works if there was clearer evidence of a tradition from which they grew; but if the polyphonic rondeau and ballade had any direct predecessors they cannot be seen clearly any more. Second, in Machaut, as in the only other 14th-century lais, those in the *Roman de Fauvel*, the double-versicle system that had dominated the 13th-century lai gave way to a quadruple repetition, often following the musical scheme $a^1a^2a^1a^2$, that is, with alternating 'open' and 'closed' cadences, as in the second and third stanzas of *Pour ce qu'on puist*: each section of music became longer and thereby more important in itself, exploited more fully and almost allowed to become a separate four-stanza song, with twelve such songs making up the whole lai. (And indeed, from the 15th century there is a lai, for which unfortunately no music survives, made up out of a series of self-contained sections, each in one of the formes fixes: rondeau, fatras, virelai, fatras, ballade, fatras and rondeau again.[17])

But enough has been said to show that the details of the music can be used to create a vast and overwhelming musical canvas. And it should now be no surprise to any reader to be told that the poetic text in *Pour ce qu'on puist* shows very little development of meaning. The poem does not tell a story of any kind, nor does the poem for any other lyric lai: it is an elaborate courtly exercise in persuasion—that main function of rhetoric which underlies the vast majority of the medieval courtly literature. Persuasion is effected by the variety of metres used, by the miraculously evolving melodic line, by the increase and decrease in speed of delivery as directed by the

notation, but especially by the way all the components combine to produce a performance. Machaut, by using longer forms, a wider variety of rhythmic and metrical changes, and a wonderful flexibility of melody, provided in his lais a performance more majestic than that of his predecessors—and more persuasive.

I began by saying that there may be an important reason why Machaut put the lais at the beginning of the musical section in his manuscripts, and it is difficult to produce a confident answer, but two possibilities offer themselves. The first is suggested by the similarity of the new manuscript fragment to the trouvère sources: if it is reasonable to suggest that this leaf is the oldest surviving example of a manuscript containing Machaut's music the lais could well be the earliest of Machaut's surviving works. The second reason might simply be that it is normal practice to proceed from the familiar to the unfamiliar: Machaut knew that his lais were the one strong tie with the past among his musical works; and it is probably true that the clearest indications of Machaut the musician related to his past can be seen in the lai, the form that belongs directly in the tradition of the trouvères.

But in purely musical terms the interest of the lai may be seen in a far broader historical perspective: the attempt at a long-range musical structure of a size and design made possible by the innovations of Ars Nova notation shows his mind at work on problems of development and balance that belong with the cyclic Mass in the 15th century, the madrigal cycle of the 16th century and all major musical structures of subsequent ages.

[1] But I should mention two important contributions by Gilbert Reaney, 'The *Lais* of Guillaume de Machaut and their Background', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, lxxxii (1955-6), pp. 15-32, and the chapter on 'The Lays and Virelais' in his *Machaut* (London, 1971); there is also a complete recording of the 'Lay de la fonteinne' by the Studio der frühen Musik under Thomas Binkley on Reflexe, C 063-30106.

[2] In the article 'Lai', forthcoming in *The New Grove*, I have attempted to summarize the debate. The fullest description of the subject is in Jean Maillard, *Évolution et esthétique du lai lyrique des origines à la fin du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1963).

[3] Later examples of the lai with music have been found but they are few and brief. See, in particular, Christoph Petzsch, 'Ein spätes Zeugnis der Lai-Technik', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, xcix (1970), pp. 310-23, and Craig Wright, 'A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-century Music in Dijon', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxvii (1974), pp. 306-15.

[4] Friedrich Ludwig, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke* (Leipzig and Wiesbaden, 1926-54); Leo Schrade, ed., *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, ii-iii (Monaco, 1956).

[5] Guillaume de Machaut (1300-1377), *Mass of Notre Dame and Lays*, Kalmus Study Scores, no. 700 (New York, 1968).

[6] Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, MS 134, a collection of fragments including this single sheet.

[7] 'Dufay and Nouvion-le-Vineux: Some Details and a Thought', *Acta musicologica*, xlviii (1976), pp. 44-50, on p. 48, fn. 15. I came across the fragment while consulting another fragment in the same collection for use in that article.

[8] Paul Bayart, 'Archives et musiciens', *La tribune de Saint-Gervais*, xxvi (1920), pp. 12-15, on p. 12. So far as I can establish the leaf has not been mentioned in any discussion of trouvère song.

[9] The standard summary of these manuscripts is Alfred Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen âge (manuscrits et éditions)*, Les classiques français du moyen âge, 2nd ser., no. xviii (Paris, 1918/*R*1965 and 1974); but for the actual dimensions of the manuscripts see Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classées par ordre alphabétique de rimes et la liste des trouvères* (Paris, 1884), vol. i.

[10] For details see, most recently, Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c1320-1400)*, RISM B IV² (Munich and Duisburg, 1969).

[11] See Raynaud, op cit (fn. 9 above), p. 201; the age of his book perhaps speaks for itself.

[12] See Reaney, op cit (fn. 10 above), p. 179; but it should also be mentioned that different readings for the lai make it unlikely that this and Lille are directly related.

[13] I do not wish to enter into the extremely complex question of dates for the main Machaut manuscripts, but it is perhaps worth mentioning that though Reaney, Schrade and Ludwig agree in dating f. fr. 1586 *c*1400, all agree that it represents the earliest arrangement of any Machaut manuscript, and none of them mentions reasons for the late dating. Nigel Wilkins, *La louange des dames by Guillaume de Machaut* (Edinburgh, 1972), states, p. 12, that f. fr. 1586 was partly copied before 1349 and partly before 1356; but he offers no reasons for these dates. See also the comment in fn. 9 of Elizabeth Keitel's article in this issue.

[14] Apart from the complete Machaut manuscripts the other possible earliest sources include (i) Ivrea, containing one rondeau and three motets, dated by Reaney 'shortly after 1360'; (ii) *CH-Fc* Z260, a manuscript in the same style and probably contemporary, including a motet ascribed to Machaut but not found in any of the Machaut manuscripts, so probably spurious; (iii) *F-CA* 1328, containing a motet, a rondeau and a ballade—further information on this manuscript, together with a listing of eleven newly-found leaves, appears in my article 'L'origine du MS 1328 de Cambrai', in *Revue de musicologie*, vol. 62 (1976), pp. 275-80; (iv) the lost Maggs rotulus containing a section of the 'Lai mortel', dated by Schrade (who had not seen it) *c*1450, but in view of its contents quite likely to be somewhat earlier; (v) *D-Nst* III 25, containing fragments of *De petit peu*.

[15] *US-BE*, an unnumbered theory manuscript containing two songs, see Richard L. Crocker, 'A New Source for Medieval Music Theory', *Acta musicologica*, xxxix (1967), pp. 161-71. Another small source is *GB-Cmc* 1594 which contains Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* with the music for the songs in it: the volume measures 21×15 cm, and is extensively discussed in Ludwig, op cit (fn. 4 above), vol. ii, p. 12*. Apart from these, small manuscripts containing polyphony seem to come only from Eastern Europe.

[16] In most cases the last stanza is transposed up a fifth; but in lai no. 7 it is transposed up a fourth, in no. 24 it is transposed down a fourth, and in nos. 1, 2, 3, 12, 17 and 23 it remains at the same pitch. (The numbering here is Ludwig's.)

[17] See André Giacchetti, 'Une nouvelle forme du *lai* apparue à la fin du XIV^e siècle', *Études de langue et de littérature du moyen âge offertes à Félix Lecoy* (Paris, 1973), pp. 147-55.

Early writings on music–1

Machaut's 'Pupil' Deschamps on the Performance of Music

Voices or instruments in the 14th-century chanson

CHRISTOPHER PAGE

1 *Deschamps presents his* Livret de la fragilité d'humaine nature *to Charles VI, from the dedicatory copy sent to the king in 1383. Paris, Bib. nat., f.fr. 20028, f.4v.*

The modern performer of Machaut's music is encouraged to believe by almost all authorities that the untexted tenor and contratenor lines of the polyphonic chansons were rendered instrumentally.[1] Recordings and concert performances show that this view commands complete acceptance.

The 'authenticity' of the instruments generally used in modern performances of Machaut's music is a subject that invites comment,[2] but more important is the general question of how far these performances correspond to medieval practice. It is not the purpose of this article to survey all the evidence bearing upon this question, but to give text and translation of some hitherto little-noticed remarks on the subject by Machaut's 'pupil', Eustache Deschamps (*Art de Dictier et de Fere Chançons*, 1392).[3]

Deschamps, a Champenois like Guillaume de Machaut and Philippe de Vitry, was born *c* 1346. The author of the *Règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* states that he was Machaut's nephew (*nepveux de maistre Guillaume de Machault*),[4] and though we have no proof of this, it is clear that the two poets were on intimate terms. In a poem sent to Péronne d'Armentières (inspiratrice of Machaut's *Voir Dit*) Deschamps claims that Machaut 'brought me up and did me many kindnesses',[5] and in the second of his two ballades on the death of the older poet, Deschamps refers to him as 'very sweet master'.[6] Machaut settled into the relatively peaceful life of a canon in the 1340s[7] and would thus have been in a position to educate the young Deschamps. It is pleasing, if fanciful, to suppose that some of the references to music lessons in Deschamps's poetry derive ultimately from his early experiences as Machaut's pupil at Rheims:[8]

Aprenez le fa et le mi,
Bien vous monstreray l'escripture
Tant que vous n'arez jamais cure
D'autre art sçavoir, fors de compter
Une, deux, les temps mesurer
Et fleureter plus que le cours.[9]

Deschamps was undoubtedly familiar with his master's music, just as he knew his literary works. Strictly speaking, there is no solid evidence in the poems (and there is no external evidence) that Deschamps was a musician with performing skills, but we may assume that he was at least a keen and discriminating listener.[10]

In the *Art de Dictier* Deschamps is primarily concerned with poetic forms and other aspects of *réthorique*, the *science de parler-droictement*. The treatise opens with an

account of the seven liberal arts, which he studied at the University of Orleans.[11]

In the section on music Deschamps distinguishes between *musique artificiele* (music of voices and instruments) and *musique naturele* (poetry and verse).[12] Contrasting the two forms of music, he states that both are pleasant to hear alone. Poems that are without a musical setting may be recited or read, and music 'may be sung with the voice in an artistic way without words (*par art, sanz parole*)'. The explicitness of *par art* strongly suggests that Deschamps is thinking of polyphonic chansons (rather than simple monodies such as Machaut's *virelais* which do not appear outside of the composer's own manuscripts and were clearly of limited appeal).[13] The artistic music which is sung but which is *sanz parole* must surely be the generally textless tenors and contratenors of these pieces, which are almost invariably performed instrumentally today?

Deschamps proceeds to make a fuller allusion to the vocalisation of these parts, though his statements present difficulties and must be read with circumspection. Continuing the comparison between the two forms of music, he states that the texts of chansons may be recited before one who is ill, or in the presence of lords and ladies in privacy, where music does not always have a place. This is puzzling, for there is abundant evidence to show that the music of voices and instruments was considered therapeutic[14] (a view to which Deschamps subscribes in the opening lines of his chapter on music), and that the music of small instrumental ensembles was considered an appropriate entertainment for intimate aristocratic gatherings.[15] Even if we accept the theory proposed by some scholars that Deschamps, not a musician, is deliberately underestimating the artistic value and social acceptability of music in the *Art de Dictier*,[16] it must seem unlikely that he would make statements in a manual of this kind bearing no relation to the experience of his readers. It is possible that Deschamps's remarks have reference only to the court of the unknown noble for whom he composed the treatise,[17] but this cannot be confirmed. Taken as they stand, they imply that Deschamps understood the music of chansons to be a special artistic genre not to be rendered in the same informal circumstances as the poems.

Deschamps gives two reasons for this state of affairs. Primarily, there is the *haulteur* of this music. This may be interpreted in three ways: as a reference to the music's courtly and noble character; to its high pitch;

2 The medicinal effects of music. The text accompanying the illustration in the MS begins: Organare cantum vel sonare. Natura est quaedam raucha et cantus violentus. *('To play a song with instruments. By nature it is somewhat harsh and the singing violent'),* Tacuinum Sanitatis, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex Vindobonensis series nova 2644. f.103v. Italian, late 14th century.*

or to its loudness.[18] The first and second interpretations are not indefensible, but neither makes very convincing sense of Deschamps's passage as a whole. Music that is courtly and noble in character would not thereby be excluded from performance in private circumstances, nor necessarily from performance in the sick-room. Music of predominantly high pitch might be somewhat incongenial to a *malade*, but why should *seigneurs et dames* have any aversion to it? A reference to the loudness of the music seems the most plausible interpretation. Unfortunately it is not clear whether Deschamps is making the relatively trivial point that the singing voice may make more noise than the reading voice, or whether he intends a specific reference to a cultivated stylistic feature of artistic singing (cf. illusn. 2).[19]

Deschamps's second reason for the inappropriateness of music to the private chamber and the sick-room is that it requires *'three voices for the tenors and*

contratenors . . . to perform the said music perfectly with two or three people'.

A reference to the vocal performance of tenors and contratenors by a 14th-century writer who had undoubtedly heard Machaut's music performed is a valuable document of performance practice. Before we accept Deschamps' testimony we must reassure ourselves that 'three voices' is a just translation of the crucial words *triplicité des voix*.

Certainly this rendering creates a difficulty. How can 'two or three people' render a composition with 'three voices'? The problem would be solved by translating *triplicité des voix* as 'three parts'. Two people can render three parts if one of them both sings and plays an instrument. However, *voix* in the transferred sense 'part of a musical composition' is not recorded in Old French,[20] nor is *vox* used in this way in the Latin musical treatises of the period.[21] This translation is therefore untenable.

A second conceivable translation of *voix* would be 'pitches' or 'notes' both vocally and instrumentally produced (cf. Deschamps' reference to *instrumens des voix*). This is certainly in keeping with the theorists' use of *vox* when they are not referring exclusively to the human voice.[22] However, 'three notes' or 'three pitches' does not make good sense in the full context of Deschamps' passage. One might argue that 'three pitches' is a reference to the registers of *cantus, tenor* and *contratenor*, but in actual fact the latter two parts generally operate within much the same range in the 14th-century chanson. A further objection to this translation is that we must explain why such a straightforward matter of musical architectonics as the different registers of polyphonic parts should render chansons unfit for private performance before aristocrats and convalescents.

The most satisfactory translation for *triplicité des voix*, and the one that strains the sense of Deschamps' passage least, is 'three voices', and we are therefore left with an explicit reference to the vocalization of the generally textless tenors and contratenors of chansons, accompanied by a statement that this must be done for the 'perfection' of the music.

A final ambiguity remains. Can Deschamps' reference to *triplicité des voix* for tenor and contratenor parts be taken to indicate that these lines were sung three to a part? This interpretation does not strain the text, but it is an unlikely one.

Pictorial sources and the internal stylistic evidence of the music itself suggest that the individual lines of

3 *The medicinal effects of vocal music. The text accompanying the illustration in the MS begins:* Cantus. Natura concordari voces ystrumentorum sonis, quorum non sunt usus *('Singing. Its nature consists in making voices harmonize with the sounds of instruments which, however, are not used'). MS as illusn. 2, fol. 103r*

14th-century chansons were sung by soloists occasionally doubled by instruments.[23] Many of Machaut's finely delineated tenor and contratenor parts would be unduly thickened and blurred by 'choral' performance (some modern scholars have taken objection to instrumental doubling for this reason).[24] Deschamps's *triplicité des voix pour les teneurs et contreteneurs* surely implies just three vocal parts like *triplicibus* ('in three [parts]') in the *Quatuor Principalia Musica,*[25] and *cum tribus [scilicet cum tenore carmine et contratenore]* ('with three [that is with tenor and contratenor]') in the anonymous 14th-century treatise *Ars Discantus?*[26]

What then of Deschamps's puzzling reference to the performance of three-part vocal polyphony by '*two* or three people'? Deschamps's prose is not a model of clarity, and the syntax of the passage in question is tortuous. In this particular case we cannot avoid forming the impression that the sentence is at least

elliptical, if not actually careless in expression. The point Deschamps wishes to make is that the performance of music involves more than the *homme seul* that suffices for the recitation of verse. He notes that the number may be increased from one to include two or three performers, but introduces this thought with a reference to the standard chanson arrangement of his day (cantus, tenor and contratenor) that is only consonant with a group of three performers. The two parts of the sentence are not fully congruent, but the overall implication is not obscured.

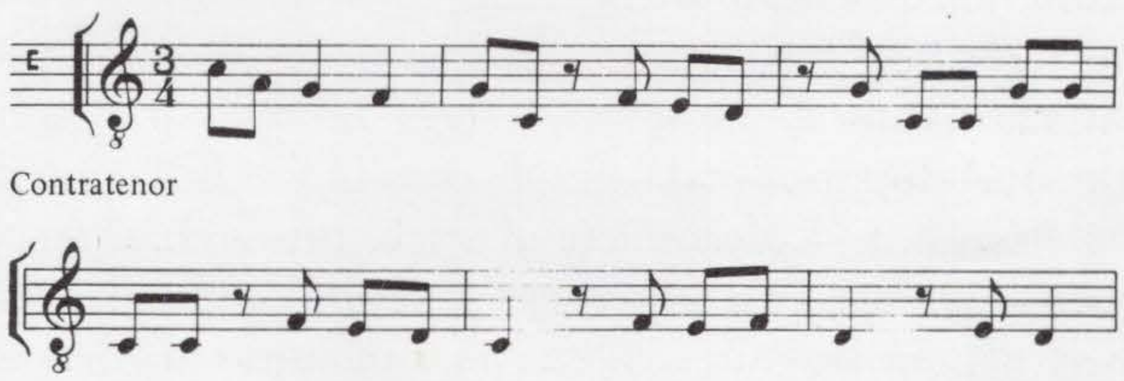
Deschamps' references to the vocal performance of tenors and contratenors, problematic though they are, are by no means unsupported. Gace de la Buigne, in his poem *Le Roman des Deduis* (written 1359-77) presents a debate between *Amour de Chiens* and *Amour d'Oyseaulx* in which the spokesman for the hunting dogs describes a pack in full cry in terms of part-singing:[27]

Les plus grans chantent la teneur,
Les autres la contreteneur,
Ceulx qui ont la plus clere gueule
Chantent le tresble sans demeure,
Et les plus petis le quadouble
En faisant la quinte sur double.

The relation of such a reference to actual musical practice may seem somewhat oblique, but it is the essence of this literary genre that animals do as humans do. Birds 'deschant',[28] and in contemporary Gothic art animal musicians play instruments demonstrably drawn from the real world. There is no reason to doubt that Gace de la Buigne's passage derives from his experience of music in performance and reflects actual practice.

The hypothesis that the tenors and contratenors of Machaut's polyphonic chansons were generally performed instrumentally in the 14th-century has strong practical appeal. At this present stage of the early music 'revival', crumhorns, viols, sackbuts and other (anachronistic) instruments that can supply these lines at written pitch are readily available, whereas singers willing (and able) to vocalize them are not. Certainly there is no reason to suppose that the apparently entirely vocal performance envisaged by Deschamps was the *only* way in which Machaut's chansons were performed,[29] but his reference should inspire far more experiment with this method of performance. This would please the growing number of musicologists who believe that the question of instrumental participation in various forms of medieval music needs to be re-examined.[30]

It is true that some 14th-century tenor and contratenor lines are by no means easy to sing effectively (ex. 1, for instance), but singers should be discouraged from assuming that it is possible to make absolute judgements about what is 'vocal' or 'unvocal'.[31] As Lloyd Hibberd has written in a penetrating analysis of the proposition that certain things in music 'are especially suitable and idiomatic for instruments and awkward or even impossible for voices':[32]

'. . . the argument that short melodic fragments are "unvocal" *per se*, rests largely on a question of taste. Such parts do not often, it is true, seem very expressive to modern ears, in vocal music, but earlier epochs may have felt quite otherwise about them . . . As regards "awkward" leaps, rapidity of movement, continuous activity, short melodic fragments, melodic sequences and coloratura passages—the exclusive "instrumentalness" of all these becomes increasingly dubious on closer examination.'

Ex. 1; Section of the contratenor added in five of a total of eleven sources to Machaut's Ballade 18, *De petit po*, one of the most widely diffused of his works. In the five Machaut manuscripts this part does not appear.[33] Quoted here from the edition of Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vols. II and III (Monaco, 1956).

The text

The text given here is that published by Gaston Raynaud in the seventh volume of the *Oeuvres complètes*. It is reproduced by kind permission of the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*.

The translation

The translation aims to be literal without distorting English idiom. In order that it may read clearly and fluently, Deschamps's long and involved sentences have been generally split into smaller units and punctuated accordingly.

The frequency with which Deschamps uses certain technical terms in a variety of contexts is somewhat confusing. The following translations are used here:

Chant, chans: Apparently music in general (both vocal and instrumental music in the first paragraph). It is rendered 'melody' here, as this word may be put into the plural when the context requires (unlike 'music').

Chant de la musique artificiele: 'Music', Deschamps explains the terms 'natural' music and 'artificial' music in the text.

Chant musicant: 'Music', this usage is related to the above.

Chansons natureles: 'Poems'. Deschamps explains the terminology in the text.

The translations of other musical terms (e.g. *deschanter, doubler*) are explained in the notes.

All instrument names have been left in their original forms. Little would be gained by substituting 'gittern' for *guiterne*, etc.

Extracts from *L'Art de Dictier* of Eustache Deschamps (completed 25 November 1392).

Text

De Musique

Musique est la derreniere science ainsis comme la medicine des .VII. ars; car quant le couraige et l'esperit des creatures ententives aux autres ars dessus declairez sont lassez et ennuyez de leurs labours, musique, par la douçour de sa science et la melodie de sa voix, leur chante par ses .VI. notes tierçoyées,[34] quintes et doublées,[35] ses chans delectables et plaisans, lesquelz elle fait aucunefoiz en orgues et chalumeaux par souflement de bouche et touchement de doiz; autrefoiz en harpe, en rebebe, en vielle, en douçaine, en sons de tabours, en fleuthes et autres instrumens musicans, tant que par sa melodie delectable les cuers et esperis de ceuls qui auxdiz ars, par pensée, ymaginaison et labours de bras estoient traveilliez, pesans et ennuiez, sont medicinez et recreez, et plus habiles après a estudier et labourer aux autres .VI. ars dessus nommez.

Et est a sçavoir que nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est *artificiele* et l'autre est *naturele*.

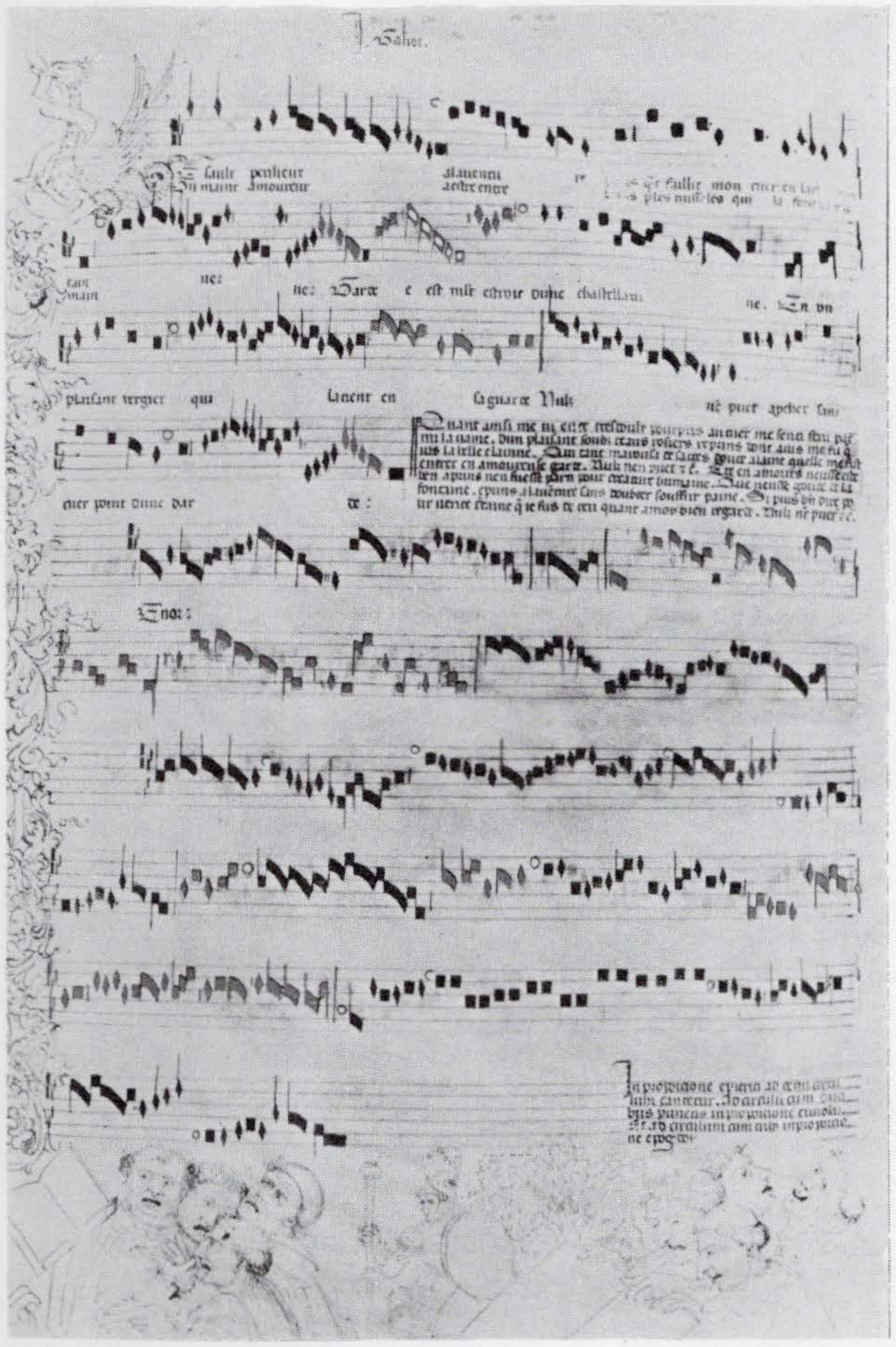
L'*artificiele* est celle dont dessus est faicte mencion; et est appellée artificiele de son art, car par ses .VI. notes, qui sont appellées *us, ré, my, fa, sol, la,* l'en puet aprandre[36] a chanter, acorder, doubler, quintoier,[37] tierçoier, tenir,[38] deschanter,[39] par figure de notes, par clefs et par lignes, le plus rude homme du monde, ou au moins tant faire, que, supposé ore qu'il n'eust pas la voix habile pour chanter ou bien acorder, sçaroit il et pourroit congnoistre les accors ou discors avecques tout l'art d'icelle science, par laquelle et les notes dessus dictes l'en acorde et donne l'en son divers aux aciers, aux fers, aux boys et aux metaulx, par diverses infusions interposées d'estain, de plomb, d'arain et de cuivre, si comme il puet apparoir es sons des cloches mises en divers orloges, lesqueles par le touchement des marteaulx donnent sons acordables selon lesdictes .VI. notes, proferans les sequences et autres choses des chans de saincte Eglise. Et ainsi puet estre entendu des autres instrumens des voix comme rebebes, guiternes, vielles et psalterions, par la diversité des tailles, la nature des cordes et le touchement des doiz, et des fleutes et haulx instrumens semblables,[40] avecques le vent de la bouche qui baillié leur est.

Et aussi ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre, que chascune puet bien estre appellée musique, pour la douceur tant du chant comme des paroles qui toutes sont prononcées et pointoyées par douçour de voix et ouverture de bouche; et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en conjunction de science, par les chans qui sont plus anobliz et mieulx seans par la parole et faconde des diz qu'elle ne seroit seule de soy. Et semblablement les chançons natureles sont delectables et embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs du chant de la musique artificiele. Et neantmoins est chascune de ces deux plaisant a ouir par soy; et se puet l'une chanter par voix et par art, sanz parole; et aussis les diz des chançons se puent souventefoiz recorder en pluseurs lieux ou ilz sont moult voulentiers ois, ou le chant de la musique artificiele n'aroit pas tousjours lieu, comme entre seigneurs et dames estans a leur privé et secretement, ou la musique naturele se puet dire et recorder par un homme seul, de bouche, ou lire aucun livre de ces choses plaisans devant un malade, et autres cas semblables ou le chant musicant n'aroit point lieu pour la haulteur d'icellui, et la triplicité des voix pour les teneurs et contreteneurs necessaires a ycellui chant proferer par deux ou trois personnes pour la perfection dudit chant.

Translation

Concerning Music

Music is the final, and the medicinal science of the seven arts; for when the heart and spirit of those



4 *Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 564 (olim 1047), f.37. 3-part Ballade* Le Sault perilleux *by Jean Galiot (red notation obscured in photograph). Monks sing in the lower border. Are they singing plainchant or Galiot's Ballade?*

applied to the other arts treated above are wearied and vexed with their labours, Music, by the sweetness of her science and the melodiousness of her voice, sings them her delectable and pleasant melodies with her six notes in thirds, fifths, and octaves. These she performs sometimes with *orgues* and *chalumeaux* by blowing with the mouth and touching with the fingers; otherwise with the *harpe, rebebe, vielle, douçaine,* with noise of *tabours*, with *fleuthes*, and other musical instruments, so much so that by her delectable melody the hearts and minds of those who were fatigued, weighed down, and troubled with the said arts by thought, imagination or labour are revived and restored. Thus they are afterwards more able to study and labour with the other six arts named above.

It must be understood that we have two kinds of music: one is *artificial* and the other is *natural*.

Artificial music is that which is mentioned above. It is called *artificial* as an art for by its six notes, which are called *us, ré, my, fa, sol, la,* one may teach the most uncultivated man in the world to sing, make harmony and an octave, fifth and third, make a tenor, and descant by the form of notes, by clefs and by staves. Or at least one may do so much, supposing now he did not have a voice suitable for singing or making harmony well, that he would know and be able to recognize accords and discords with all the art of this science by which, and by the notes mentioned above, one tunes and gives diverse sound to steels, irons, woods and metals, by various additives of tin, lead, bronze, and copper, as may be evident in the sounds of bells enclosed in various clocks. These, by the touch of hammers, give harmonious sounds according to the said six notes, uttering sequences and other things of the melodies of Holy Church. This harmony may be heard on other musical instruments such as *rebebes, guiternes, vielles,* and *psalterions* by the variety of their size, the nature of the strings and the action of the fingers. Also on *fleutes* and on similar loud instruments,[40] with the breath that is introduced into them.

Also these two musics are so consonant with one another that each may well be called 'music', as much for the sweetness of both the melody and of the words which are all pronounced and articulated by the pleasantness of the voice and opening of the mouth. It is with these two as a marriage, that is, a conjunction of science, through the melodies which are more ennobled and are more seemly with the words and the fluency of the texts than they [lit. *it*] would be alone. Similarly, poems are made more delightful and embellished by the melody and the tenors, trebles and contratenors of music. However, each of these two [i.e., music and poetry] is pleasant to hear by itself. One may be sung with the voice in an artistic way without words; also the texts of chansons may often be recited in many places where they are very willingly heard, and where their music would not always be appropriate as among lords and ladies remaining in private, where poetry may be recited by a single person, or where some book of these pleasant things may be read before one who is ill. There are other similar cases where music would have no place because of its loudness, and because of the three voices for the tenors and contratenors that are necessary to perform the said music perfectly with two or three people.

Abbreviations

CS E. de Coussemaker. *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi Nova Series*, 4 vols., Paris, 1864-76.

GS Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, 3 vols., Typis San-Blasianis, 1784.

PL J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-64.

Notes

[1] See, for example, G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, London, 1941, p. 383; P. H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilisation*, London, 1942, p. 153; Gilbert Reaney, 'Ars Nova in France', in *New Oxford History of Music, III, Ars Nova and the Renaissance*, 1300-1540, ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham, London, 1960, p. 25; W. Smoldon, *A History of Music*, London, 1965, p. 76; D. J. Grout, *A History of Western Music*, revised ed., London, 1973, p. 124. This view is often argued on the basis of the purely hypothetical notion that the tenors of 13th-century motets were performed upon instruments.

[2] See, for example, Jeremy Montagu, 'The "Authentic" sound of early music', *Early Music*, 3 (1975), 3, pp. 242-243.

[3] Text in *Oeuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, Société des Anciens Textes Français, pubs. 9, Paris, 1878-1903, VII, pp. 266-92. The work is mentioned briefly in Gilbert Reaney, 'Voices and Instruments in the music of Guillaume de Machaut', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, X (1956), fasc. 1-2, p. 3 (note 2) and p. 8.

[4] *Oeuvres*, XI, p. 11, n. 4.

[5] Ballade 447 (Oeuvres, III, p. 259-60) *"Machaut . . . Qui m'a nourry et fait maintes douçours"*. In this poem, written after Machaut's death, Deschamps asks to be Péronne's *loyal ami* for *l'onneur* of Machaut.

[6] *Oeuvres*, 1, p. 245.

[7] A. Machabey, *Guillaume de Machault*, Paris, 1955, 1, p. 34f.

[8] Cf. Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958 (reprinted Da Capo Press, New York, 1972), p. 75.

[9] Ballade 1169 (*Oeuvres*, VI, p. 113).

[10] Concerning a possible reference by Deschamps to composition of his own music see the *Oeuvres*, XI, p. 156. Nigel Wilkins ('The post-Machaut Generation of Poet-Musicians', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1968), p. 83) states that 'Deschamps . . . was not a musician . . .' For discussion of the view that Deschamps, unlike previous poets, was unable to compose music, and that he wrote the *Art de Dictier* in an attempt to have 'spoken verse accorded the same recognition as the best known poetry before him' see Glending Olson, 'Deschamps' *Art de Dictier* and Chaucer's Literary Environment', *Speculum*, XLVIII (1973), 4, pp. 714-723; Kenneth Varty, 'Deschamps' *Art de Dictier*', *French Studies*, XIX (1965), pp. 164-68; I. S. Laurie, 'Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music', *Modern Language Review*, LIX (1964), pp. 561-70.

[11] For the view that this account concentrates more on the practical application of the seven arts than former treatments, see R. Dragonetti, '"La Poesie . . . ceste musique naturele": Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de l'*Art de Dictier* d'Eustache Deschamps', *Fin du Moyen Age et Renaissance; Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette*, Anvers, 1961, p. 53. For a discussion of music and the liberal arts at the University of Orléans in the Middle Ages with special reference to Deschamps and the *Art de Dictier* see Nan Cooke Carpenter, op cit, pp. 69-76.

[12] The inclusion of poetry under the heading of *Musica* may be found in the *Poetria* of Johannes de Garlandia (text and translation in T. Lawler, *The 'Parisiana Poetria' of John of Garland*, Yale University Press, 1974, ch. I, lines 54-5, and 7, lines 469-70), and to some extent in the *De Musica* of Boethius (PL, LXIII, col. 1196). In the musical theorists the terms *naturalis* and *artificialis* are used in a variety of ways. See, for example, the writings of Regino of Prüm (GS, I, p. 236), Aribo Scholasticus (GS, II, p. 225), John of Affligem (GS, II, p. 232), Marchettus de Padua (GS, IV, pp. 68 and 152), Adam of Fulda (GS, IV, p. 333) and the treatises *Summa Musicae* (GS, IV, p. 199), and *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 103). The author of the *Quatuor Principalia Musica* distinguishes between 'natural' and 'artificial' instruments of practical music. The 'natural' instruments are the lungs and teeth, etc., and the 'artificial' are '*organa, viella, cithara, cistolla, psalterium et cetera*' (CS, IV, p. 205).

[13] Gilbert Reaney, 'Machaut's Influence on Late Medieval Music', *The Monthly Music Record*, 88 (1958), p. 51.

[14] For an elaborate account of the medicinal and therapeutic qualities of music see Tinctoris's treatises *Complexus Effectuum Musices* (CS, IV, p. 191f) and *Complexus Viginti Effectuum Nobilis Artis Musices* (ibid 195f) (both versions of the same work). See also plates 2 and 3.

[15] See, for example, the quotations from 14th-century and 15th-century texts gathered in E. A. Bowles, 'Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 12 (1958), p. 41-51.

[16] See note 10.

[17] Raynaud (*Oeuvres*, XI, p. 155) suggests that the work was composed for the Duke of Burgundy.

[18] See Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925; Wiesbaden, 1954-), 4 (1960), *haut*.

[19] For references to voices as *haut* see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *op. cit.*, 4, *haut*. For related references in Latin see Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle; le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, Paris, 4 vols., 1935-39, vol. IV, p. 220f.

[20] See W. v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Basel, vol. 14, 1961, p. 638, where the earliest recorded use of *voix* in this sense is dated 1765. The transferred meaning is not given in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (3 vols., The Hague and Rotterdam, 1690 (reprinted by Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1970) *voix*), although the author lists several specialized musical senses of the word. Ralph de Gorog (*Lexique Français Moderne—Ancien Français*, University of Georgia Press, 1973, p. 328) gives *parçon* as the Old French equivalent of Modern French *partie* in the musical sense (see F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française* (Paris, 1880-1902), 5 (1888), *parçon*).

[21] The primary transferred sense of *vox* in the musical theorists is 'note' or 'pitch'; see, for example, Marchettus of Padua, *Lucidarium* (GS, IV, p. 85); *Summa Musicae* (GS, IV, p. 201), *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 110), Johannis Veruli de Anagnia, *Liber de Musica* (CS, III, p. 131), Prosdocimus de Beldemandis, *Tractatus de Contrapuncto* (CS, III, p. 194) and Anon., *Quatuor Principalia Musica* (CS, IV, p. 226).
When discussing counterpoint, the theorists either refer to parts by their names (*tenor, contratenor, discantus*, etc.), use the term *pars*, or employ *cum* followed by a numerical adjective with implied noun, e.g. *cum tribus* ('with three [parts]'). See the discussions of part-writing in the *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 93), and in the *Tractatus de Cantus Mensurabilis* of Aegidius de Murino (CS, III, p. 124f).

[22] See previous note.

[23] See Reaney, op cit, pp. 5 and 94.

[24] See Joscelyn Godwin, 'Mains Divers Acors', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 2, p. 159.

[25] *Quatuor Principalia Musica* (CS, IV, p. 295).

[26] CS, III, p. 93.

[27] *Gace de la Buigne Le Roman des Deduis*, Ed. Åke Blomqvist, Studia Romanica Holmiensia, III, Karlshamn, 1951, line 8083f.

[28] Godefroy, op cit, 2 (1882), *deschanter*.

[29] There is, for example, an explicit reference to the performance of *teneur* and *contreteneur* on the *psalterium* in the *Pratique du Psalterium Mystique* of Jean de Gerson (*d* 1429), see Mgr. Glorieux, ed., *Jean de Gerson Oeuvres Complètes*, 10 vols. in 11, Tournai, 1960-73, 7(1), p. 421.

[30] See, for example, with regard to the music of the troubadours, H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the troubadours and trouvères: A study of the melodies and their relation to the poems*, Utrecht, 1972, and on the

textless parts of the Old Hall manuscript, Margaret Bent's note to the music supplement of *Early Music*, January 1974; 'Vocalization is a likely solution, and one to which modern singers of early music may have to grow more accustomed.'

[31] Cf. Reaney, op cit, p. 8: 'Although certain tenors and contratenors may have been performed vocally, the great majority of those employed in Machaut's polyphonic songs are undoubtedly instrumental. They look so unvocal with their passagework and leaps that we can hardly apply to them Deschamps' important statement that three voices are necessary when a song is properly performed with tenors and contratenors by two or three people.'

[32] Lloyd Hibberd, 'On "Instrumental Style" in Early Melody', *Musical Quarterly*, 32 (1946), pp. 107-130.

[33] See Sarah Jane Williams, 'Vocal Scoring in the Chansons of Machaut', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), 3, p. 252.

[34] Deschamps apparently puns on the musical meaning of this word in his Ballade 300 (see the Oeuvres, II, p. 161).

[35] The translation 'in octaves' for *doublées* is supported by (1), the earliest French vernacular musical treatise *Quiconques veut deschanter* (MS 13c) where *doubles* is defined as the *Witisme* ('eighth') note above unison (quoted here from the facsimile of the original MS in *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript Paris lat. 15139*, Introduction and facsimiles by Ethel Thurston, Toronto, 1959, p. 21 fol. 269); (2), by the French vernacular treatise of Anonymous XIII (end of 13c) in CS, III, p. 497: *Qui veult faire bon deschant il doilt commenchier et finir par acort parfait, c'est à scavoir par unisson, quinte ou double. . . .* (3), by Gace de la Buigne's reference (*Le Roman des Deduis*, in Blomqvist, *op. cit.*, lines 8087-8088) to the *quadouble* part being sung '*la quinte sur double*', i.e., a fifth above the octave above the tenor.

[36] Deschamps is presumably thinking of the rules for composing polyphonic music such as are given in the *Ars Discantus* (CS, III, p. 93), in the *Tractatus Cantus Mensurabilis* of Aegidius de Murino (CS, III, p. 124f), and in the *Tractatus de Musica Figurata et de Contrapuncto* (CS, IV, 446f).

[37] The verb *quintoier* simply means 'to sound a fifth', but it appears in several Old French texts where its actual technical meaning is far from clear (see, for example, Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. A. E. Poquet, Paris, 1862, col. 320, line 262). If Deschamps is referring to the rules for composing polyphonic music in this passage (see previous note) then all the verbs he uses derived from the names of intervals must denote the process of putting parts together as described in the treatises (cf. for example, CS, IV, p. 448-9).

[38] Apparently only in Deschamps (see Tobler-Lommatzsch, *op. cit.* (Zweite Lieferung des X bandes, Wiesbaden, 1974) *tenir*, col. 218). My translation is based upon the assumption that Deschamps is referring to composition. However, all the verbs used here may also imply aspects of performance, and one might therefore translate 'perform a tenor'. For a treatise on the composition of motet tenors see Aegidius de Murino, *Tractatus Cantus Mensurabilis* (CS, III, p. 124f).

[39] The *discantus* was the top line in a chanson (also called *superius, cantus, treble*). Again, Deschamps may be referring to performance, or to the composition of a part above a tenor (see Godefroy, op cit, 2 (1883), *Deschant, Deschanter*, and Tobler Lommatzsch, 2 (n.d.), *deschant, deschanter*). The word is used somewhat loosely in vernacular texts, and it is difficult to know how precise in reference Deschamps wishes to be.

[40] Deschamps appears to be implicitly distinguishing the stringed (*bas*) instruments from the winds, predominantly loud (*haulx*). However, the explicit mention of *fleutes* as representative of the *haulx* instruments is puzzling (see E. A. Bowles, '"Haut et Bas": the grouping of musical instruments in the Middle Ages', *Musica Disciplina*, 8 (1954), pp. 120-1, 126-7).

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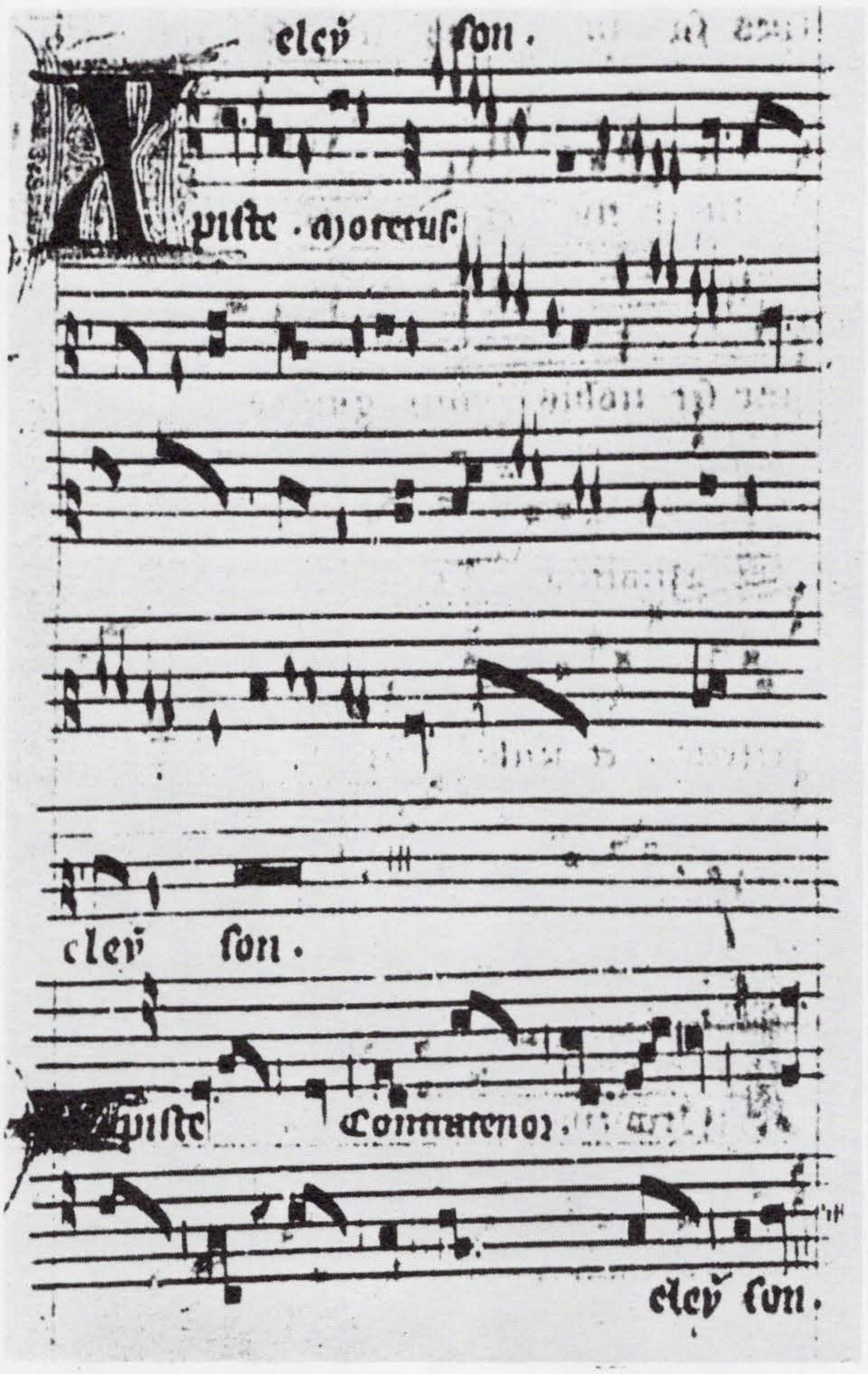
Nature *presents her daughters* Sens, Retorique *and* Musique *to Machaut.*
Bibl. natl., f.fr. 9221 f. 1r. By courtesy of Scottish Academic Press

Performing Machaut's Mass on Record

ANDREW PARROTT

Christe eleison *from the Mass, Bib. nat., Paris, f.fr. 22546 f.125v*

Considering the acknowledged historical importance of the *Messe de Nostre Dame*, it is remarkable how few performances of it are apparently being given during this 600th anniversary of Machaut's death. Clearly there are problems facing anyone who does attempt to mount a performance; apart from the dubious box-office appeal of any 14th-century church music and the uneasy relationship of liturgical music with the concert-hall, it is actually a difficult piece, requiring great agility and precision from the singers and a set of voice-ranges quite different from our standard choral division into soprano, alto, tenor, bass. Moreover, it is normally assumed that an essential ingredient of any performance is a battery of exotic instruments. Ironically perhaps, a further reason why the work is so seldom performed may be its very accessibility on gramophone records: with several recordings to choose from,[1] one can have all the excitement of listening without having to grapple with the practical and musicological problems that the work poses.

The text-book fame of the mass rests on the fact that it is the earliest complete polyphonic setting by a known composer. It also stands alone among surviving 14th-century mass settings, being in four parts throughout. Although it is clearly an exceptional work, we do not know for certain of any special occasions for which it could have been written, and perhaps there is no need to try to think of any, since the title 'de Nostre Dame', which appears in just one source, merely tells us that it is a mass 'of our Lady', and the plainsong that Machaut uses would qualify it for any of the more important Marian feasts in the Church calendar.

Interest in the mass this century goes back at least to 1918 when a performance was given in Paris, but undoubtedly it was the complete recording, produced in 1956 by the Belgian group Pro Musica Antiqua under the direction of Safford Cape, which first put the work before the general public. The performance was awarded a Grand Prix du Disque and remained unchallenged in the record catalogues for over a decade. Then in 1968 began a rather extraordinary three-year spate that produced at least six other versions. That a 14th-century mass should have been recorded so much is a clear sign of the fascination it holds for musicians of today. But to me these recordings seem not only remarkably close in time but also far closer in conception than one might reasonably expect, granted how little is known about medieval performance practice. And with one honourable exception they demon-

strate no real new thinking about the piece, despite their differences in surface detail. To what extent do any of them represent the sort of performances the composer himself might have heard?

To answer this we must consider the issues facing those who perform Machaut's mass. The obvious first requirement is to establish a working text: there are good transcriptions available[2] but these necessarily leave many points open. First of all, there is the matter of *musica ficta*, discussed elsewhere in this journal. Suffice it to say that in no other 14th-century composition are the problems more acute and that consequently few of the recordings achieve even a consistent approach. Next, how is the Kyrie meant to work? Undoubtedly a ninefold Kyrie is intended; in other words, each invocation should be heard three times, that is, Kyrie eleison three times, Christe eleison three times, and again Kyrie eleison three times (a symbolic three times three). But Machaut has provided only one setting of the first Kyrie, one of the Christe and two of the final Kyrie. So, either his music must be repeated as appropriate (and this is what three of the recordings do) or it should be made to alternate with plainsong (as in three others). This latter scheme, although ignoring the rubrics 'ter' and 'bis' that occur in some of the MSS, has the advantage of setting Machaut's music in relief and of allowing a breathing space from solid polyphony. An interesting alternative solution is adopted in the Purcell Choir's recording under Grayston Burgess, for which Frank Ll. Harrison acted as Artistic Director. Here Machaut's music (based on a plainsong Kyrie) alternates with an organ elaboration of the same plainsong. Now, even if it is possible to justify the alternation of organ polyphony with choral polyphony in this way, it seems to me that the music does not actually fit very well, probably because it comes from an Italian source, the Faenza Codex, that dates from a generation after Machaut.

Whatever method of performance Machaut may have had in mind for the Kyrie, he certainly could never have intended all six movements to be sung one after another, as they are on all but one of the recordings. In a liturgical context, these movements of the Ordinary of the Mass would have been spaced out and heard in conjunction with the chants of the Proper, the plainsong appropriate to the specific day or occasion on which the mass was sung. As mentioned earlier, Machaut's mass may well have been intended for one of the major Marian feasts, and on the recording made by the Ambrosian Singers under John McCarthy it is performed complete with Propers for the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This record, incidentally, was made in the cathedral of Rheims where Machaut was himself a canon.

A mass such as Machaut's, if performed with neither plainsong Propers nor other suitable music between movements, presents musical dangers. Faced with five or six consecutive polyphonic movements (probably in substantially the same style), performers and listeners may require a variety in the music which is not necessarily there, simply because it does not need to be there. And there is no easier way of introducing an artificial variety than by using exotic instruments in different combinations. Between them, the seven recordings I have heard give us the chance to hear a remarkable range of instruments, both from Machaut's own times and from the following 200 years or so: recorders, flute, shawm, crumhorn, dulcian, cornett, sackbuts, fiddles, violins, rebecs, lutes, psaltery, harp, organ, regal and bells. To be fair, a performance such as that by Munich Capella Antiqua under Konrad Ruhland uses just one discreet instrumentation throughout; in others two or three combinations are heard in turn; but in yet other recordings it is hard to discern any coherent principles whatsoever behind the instrumentation. For example, in the only recording by compatriots of the composer (the French Radio Polyphonic Ensemble directed by Charles Ravier) the Credo is accompanied by two lutes—or at least two lutes are dimly present for the majority of the movement, but in the final Amen they disappear without trace, presumably because as instruments of fixed pitch they are obliged to give up the struggle with singers who have sunk almost a semitone. In general, the recordings seem to favour what one might call a 'colourful' approach to instrumentation.

Which instruments were used in the church of Machaut's time? And how were they used? Both questions can be safely set aside until another, more fundamental question has been answered—were instruments used at all in the medieval church? The evidence for the organ is clear; also bells had a function. But what is the evidence for instruments apart from these? It has generally been assumed that, because musical instruments play such a large role in medieval art and literature, they must have had easy admission into liturgical usage. After all, the Psalms themselves are full of exhortations to praise God with

instruments and hundreds of medieval psalters contain appropriate pictorial representations.

To understand fully the very conservative attitude of the medieval church towards instruments we must first look at the writings of the early Church Fathers.[3] To them, quite simply, musical instruments were evil:

'If an anagnost [cantor] learns to play the kithara, he shall confess this. If he does not return to it, his punishment shall be for seven weeks' duration. If he persists, he shall be dismissed and excluded from the church.' (*Canones Basilii 74*)

The vehemence of this 4th-century Alexandrian law is shared by practically all early Christian writings on the subject of musical instruments. And the prime reason behind it is that instruments were closely associated with sexual immorality. It can, of course, be argued that the need for legislation and for strong criticism of any abuse springs from the very existence of that abuse. This is true enough, but the condemnations of musical instruments were made in the context of wedding-festivities, plays or banquets—never of the liturgy itself. In fact, so exclusively vocal was the music of the early Christian church that there was never occasion to criticize the use of instruments in church and the evidence is that this attitude survived well into the Middle Ages.

The problem of the Psalms tended to be circumvented by interpreting references to instruments in terms of allegory.[4] Thus when Psalm 97 says, 'Sing a psalm with the metal trumpet and the voice of the horn trumpet', an early medieval commentator may explain that

'A fervent and intense study of evangelical preaching is understood by the metal trumpets; whereas kingly dignity is understood by the horn because kings are anointed from a horn. And not only that, but the proclamation of kingship is made by the horn.'

Detail from Mother Nature presenting her children to Machaut, *Bib. nat., f.fr. 1584,* A, *f.E*

The organ stood apart from all this because it inspired allegorical thoughts in the listener, a line of argument which no medieval writer seems to have employed to justify the introduction into the church of other instruments.

Clearly medieval psalter illustrations and carvings in churches should be interpreted with great caution.[5] The mere representation of instruments in such contexts speaks neither for nor against their use in church. But the fact that from the 13th century *a cappella* groups of monks around an open book are consistently used to illustrate the Psalms with all their references to instruments is surely a very strong argument that instruments were absent from liturgical practice.

Developments in the liturgy through the Middle Ages were inevitable, but the rites of all religions are essentially so conservative that changes do not pass unnoticed. Thus we find that Erasmus, writing more than a century after Machaut's death, had cause to criticize instrumental music in much the same way as the Fathers had done, but with the significant addition that it was now to be heard 'even in the holy temple, just as in the theatre'.[6] This was a comparatively new development around 1500, and one that is corroborated by other writers. But as far as the church of Machaut's time and earlier is concerned, we may be fairly certain that instruments other than the organ (and perhaps bells) were never used. In fact, a 13th-century Spanish Franciscan states unequivocally that: 'The Church uses only the organ for its various chants and sequences and hymns; all other instruments have been banned because they were abused by play-actors.'[7]

Only one of the seven recordings of the *Messe de Nostre Dame* dispenses with all instruments (apart from the organ in the Kyrie)—the version by the Purcell Choir. The performance may not be flawless, but it shows that Machaut's music can be every bit as exhilarating when performed unaccompanied.

I have dwelt on the subject of instrumental participation, as it is one that has been researched fairly carefully since Cape's time,[8] but the performer of Machaut's Mass is faced with further fundamentally important questions. (1) Do we know whether solo voices or choir or both were intended? The recordings represent each of these solutions, including a

successful one by Munich Capella Antiqua, in which the top two parts are taken throughout by soloists, while the simpler lower two are each taken by two tenors, albeit with instrumental doublings. Certainly my impression is that even in the biggest cathedrals of the Middle Ages, the number of singers capable of reading mensural notation, as opposed to plainsong, was small—rarely more than three or four. Also, it is unlikely that boys in Machaut's day would have been expected to sing such elaborate polyphony. (2) What types of voice is the Mass intended for? This is a question that cannot really be considered separately from (3), that of pitch. Do we have any positive evidence about the pitch standard with which Machaut was working? The short answer is 'no', which makes it all the more curious that only one director seems to have questioned the assumption that Machaut was writing at a′ 440 pitch—this is Safford Cape, who transposes the work up a tone. The main reason for this is perhaps that at a′ 440 the top part seems to lie well for countertenors. This raises a further question—(4) was falsetto singing common in the Middle Ages, as is normally assumed?

As far as I know, none of these questions has yet been unequivocally answered by scholars—some indeed are perhaps unanswerable—but the impression that one is left with, after listening to seven recordings of Machaut's Mass, is that in too many cases the questions were probably not even asked.

This article is based on a talk broadcast on BBC Radio 3 in April 1977.

[1] Cape/Pro Musica Antiqua, 14063 APM
Burgess/Purcell Choir, SOL 310
Deller/Deller Consort, BGS 4045
McCarthy/Ambrosian Singers, H—71184
Ravier/Ensemble Polyphonique de l'O.R.T.F., Inédits-995010
Ruhland/Capella Antiqua München, SAWT 9566-B
Wenzinger/Soloists, Archiv 2533 054

[2] See David Fallows, 'Guillaume de Machaut and his Mass', *Musical Times* (April 1977), pp. 288-291.

[3] See James McKinnon, 'The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments', *Current Musicology* (Spring 1965), pp. 69-82.

[4] See James McKinnon, 'Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters', *JAMS* XXI/1 (Spring 1968), pp. 3-20.

[5] See Christopher Page, 'Biblical instruments in medieval manuscript illustration', *Early Music* 5/3 (July 1977), pp. 299-309.

[6] Erasmus, *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnes* (Leiden, 1705), vol. 6, p. 731, quoted in McKinnon, 'Patristic Polemic . . .', p. 78.

[7] Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica* (St Blasien), 1784, vol. 2, p. 388.

[8] See Edmund A. Bowles, 'Were Musical Instruments used in the Liturgical Service during the Middle Ages?' *Galpin Society Journal*, X (May 1957).

A New Edition of Machaut

STANLEY BOORMAN

Two complete editions of the music of Machaut have been available for some time. That of Ludwig (in the series Publikationen älterer Musik, 1926, and reprinted 1954) was, like so much else of his work, both trail-blazing and a sound basis for much of the later work on the composer. In some ways it set out to be scholarly rather than to look to the needs of the performer. It contained a critical commentary at the end of every piece, and excellent versions of the texts. It did attempt to give some guidance to performers in, for example, the manner in which Ludwig tied together certain repeated notes. It was based largely on the readings in a single source, the manuscript then owned by the Marquis de Vogüé (now at the Gallery Wildenstein in New York), though reference was of course made to the other sources. The second principal edition was that of Schrade, 1956 (available in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*), and also based to a large extent on the readings of a principal source (Paris, BN, f.fr. 1584, called A). This naturally showed, both in approach and in detail, evidence of the progress that had been made in Machaut scholarship, although it, too, is now beginning to show its age.

The advent of a new edition of so major a composer* is bound to be seen as an event of some moment, and the edition itself studied with some interest. The new edition does have one great virtue when compared with the others, for it is available in small fascicles and at a reasonable price, thus at last placing this music within the reach of the average performer or early music ensemble. It presents, or rather will present when the series is complete, all the extant music in seven volumes, of which those devoted to the rondeaux and the virelais have already appeared. (Mme Leguy kindly sent me, in addition, her prepared copies of the ballades and the mass: the remaining volumes will contain the lais, the motets and the music to the *Remede de Fortune*.) Each contains the music and text in a large hand (occasionally spaced so as to make the rhythm hard to read at sight), and a

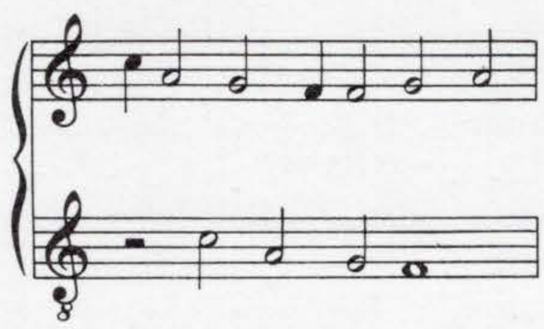
Machaut at work, Paris, Bib. nat., f.fr. 1587, **D**, *f.1r*

separate folder containing the complete texts of all the pieces. (Whatever the disadvantages of thus separating the music and the full text, such a procedure does avoid the complexity of setting out numerous lines of text underneath each line of music.) In addition, there is an introduction, giving the form of the genre involved, notes on the notation (which are restricted to a discussion of the note values and of the mensuration signs of the edition—nothing on plicas, for example), and on 'musica ficta' (which goes little further than to say how complicated is the problem) and a final essay on the use of instruments. This last is based on Machaut's own references to instruments, and assumes a free use of those cited. It does make two important points: one, that 'haut' and 'bas' instruments should be rigorously segregated (as is still too often not the case) and, secondly, that the polyphonic works cannot take doubling by instruments at the octave, or transposition of parts relative to one another. This, of course, bears most directly on the use of the recorder.

Like the two earlier collected editions, the present one is based on one source (in this case, the pair of manuscripts, Paris, BN, 22545-6, known as F and G), though here much more rigorously so. In the particular circumstances of the Machaut sources, this procedure raises considerable problems. A number of the manuscripts are arranged in a similar manner, order the music in approximately the same way, and show other evidence of being related. One of them (A) even says that it contains Machaut's works in the order that he requested; Machaut refers, in the *Voir Dit*, to a complete book of his works. It therefore seems possible that the versions preserved in the extant sources may well have something to do with the versions that he composed. However, the sources differ, sometimes as to minor points, sometimes as to essentials. While some have few good readings that are not shared with others, none of the sources has a completely satisfactory version of the works. And, even if any manuscript had such consistently good readings, it would not necessarily, therefore, have readings that Machaut would have preferred, for our judgements on style can hardly be the same as were his. As a result, it is not possible to provide a satisfactory edition based solely on one source. It is not merely a matter of adopting readings from different sources whenever our chosen manuscript happens to be displeasing. Rather it is a case of weighing the readings in the various versions and deciding, for each variant, which may be more likely to have been original.

Since many of the decisions in such a process are bound to be subjective, no one scholar (or performer) is likely to agree with any other over many of them. For this reason, both Ludwig and Schrade provided full commentaries, listing all the places where the manuscripts differed from their decisions. Thus the scholar or performer, coming to a point in the music which he questions, is able to use those editions to check how far an alternative version has sanction in the sources. This, sadly, is not possible in the present edition. It might seem to the performer that I am asking for too much—after all, the editor ought to be more of a specialist, and the performer should be able to accept his word: while the scholar may argue that a version showing what is in one source is itself of interest. However, if the editor gives no commentary at all, and yet includes readings like the following, even the least questioning of performers would be justified in asking for more information:

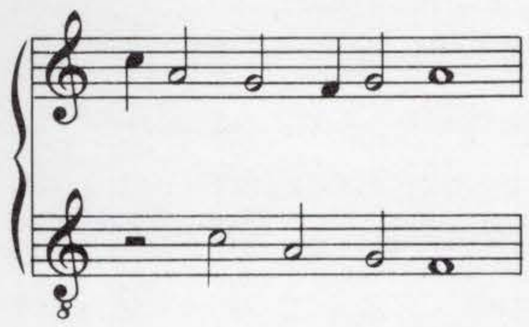
Ex. 1



The editor has argued that, in following one manuscript (in particular, an early one), she has produced a version that did exist, rather than a mixture of all the

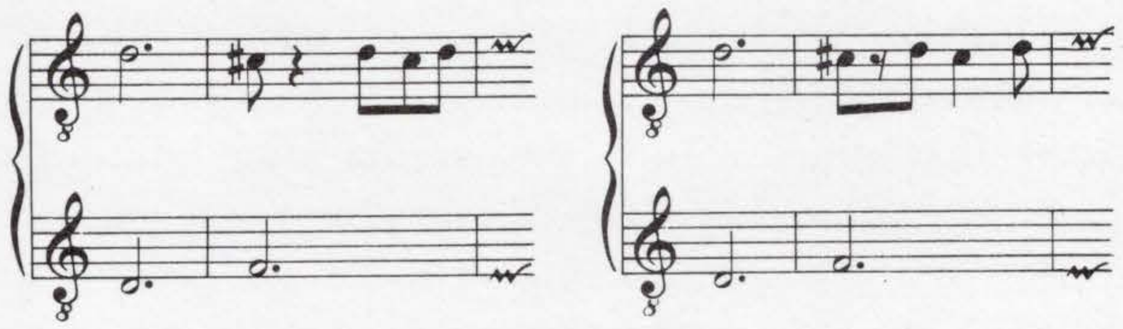
versions in all the manuscripts, a mixture that did not exist in its own right. However, such a procedure assumes an authority for a single source (and a level of accuracy in that source) that we are far from justified in assuming. Indeed, in the example shown above, this manuscript (G) is the only one with this reading, and it preserves the upper voice in an unusual form, as if some attempt at correction were undertaken. The other manuscripts read as follows:

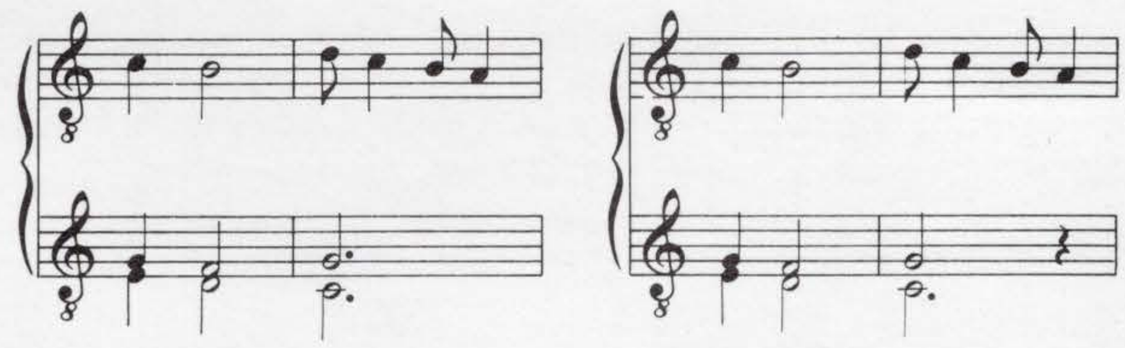
Ex. 2

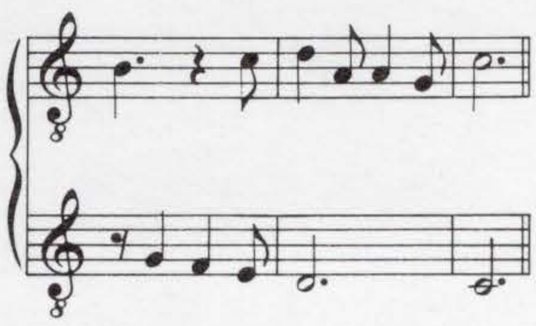


This is one of the rare instances when one can suggest with some confidence that a particular reading is 'wrong' and that another is likely to be 'right'. In the majority of cases we can say no more than that one version is *more* likely to be right, perhaps because it is carried in the majority of sources, perhaps because the source with it is more likely to be reliable, or perhaps because it fits in better with our understanding of the composer's style. However, even in these cases, there is nonetheless every reason to allow the performer his own understanding of what makes a composer's style, and thus to list the variants rejected by the editor.

In practice, the editor has not slavishly followed her chosen manuscript. Indeed, she could not do so, for there are many places where G is clearly not accurate: in virelai 4 or rondeau 8, sections of the music are copied a third too low, while the other sources make good sense. In a number of pieces, too, single notes are omitted or rests are inaccurately copied, and Mme Leguy has changed these in line with the other sources. Having started to respect the evidence of these manuscripts, however, she might reasonably have gone further and thoroughly collated all the readings to provide a true blend of the best, as she sees it. To some small extent, she has done this, for there are a number of places where changes are made in the reading of G to bring it into line with that in some other source—changes that are by no means essential to satisfactory harmony or style, but which are in accord with the majority of the manuscripts, and with the two earlier modern editions. The start of rondeau 6, for example, has the reading shown on the left in source G, while that on the right appears in other sources and in all three editions. If Mme Leguy wished to follow G as closely as possible, I can see little reason for this change, as for others:

Ex. 3

On the other hand, there are cases where the editor has followed the source too scrupulously. In virelai 26, two sources (shown at the right) introduce a rest to avoid a dissonance, while the other three let it stand. Now, I accept that the notation of the original may well be related to the nature of the instruments in use, and that the note in question, if plucked, would scarcely have sounded through the bar. However, that does not allow us to ignore the problem. Mme Leguy follows the version on the left, which happens to be in G, whereas I believe that a thoughtful examination of the sources would have led her to accept that on the right:

Ex. 4

Unfortunately, this is not the total extent of the deviation from the chosen source: it may be that the proof-reading has been at fault, but there are many places where the reading of the edition conforms to none of the sources. This, in itself, might be a good thing. I find the following reading of a final cadence to be a little curious: it is the end of rondeau 2 as preserved in the principal sources, and as presented in all three modern editions:

Ex. 5

I would feel strongly inclined to make an alteration to the upper voice in the penultimate bar, if I were to perform this rondeau. There are other occasions where none of the three editors has considered the

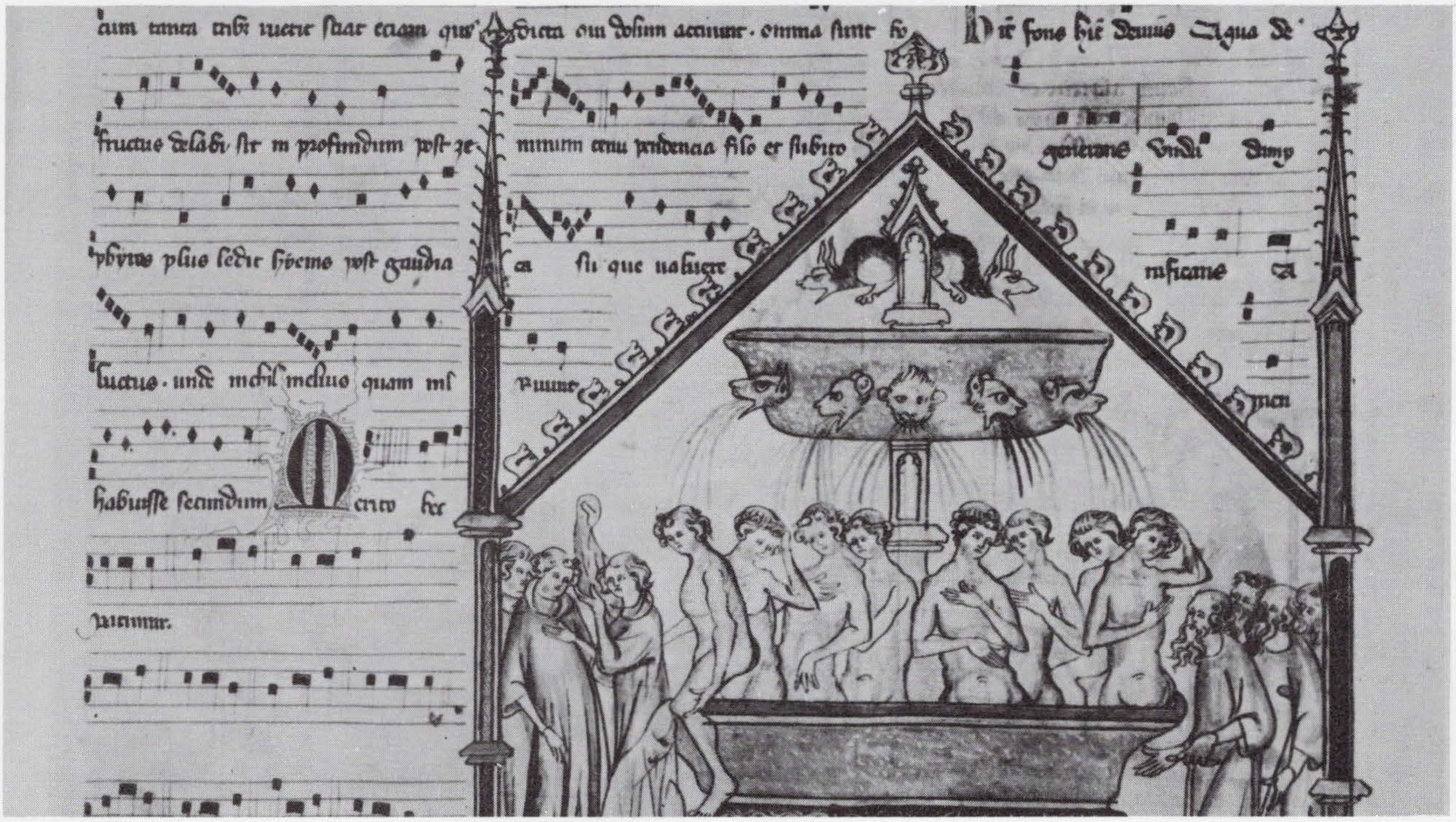
possibility of errors or unlikely versions surviving in all the extant sources. However, it is not this sort of change that I am referring to in the case of Mme Leguy's edition. Rather do I regret the number of occasions on which apparent errors of transcription or proof-reading have been allowed to creep into print. Occasional pitches and rests are lacking (although these can often be guessed at), notes and phrases appear at the wrong pitch and there are occasional rhythmic problems. There is no doubt that, in some pieces, Machaut did play with an ambivalence in either *modus* or *prolatio*, but I doubt that it happened as often or as haphazardly as Mme Leguy seems to think. In some pieces where she changes, momentarily, from 6/8 to 3/4 or *vice-versa*, such a change is not necessary, as examination of the other sources would often confirm.

But, sadly, we never know when the edition does represent G and when it is drawn from some other source. If an editor were to follow one source consistently, he might be justified in not telling us what happens in the other sources. But when he (or she) takes readings from several other sources (and sometimes from none), we *must* have some commentary to permit us to see what has been done, and what we might do. In the present edition, many readings can only be understood by reference to the manuscripts (or, in the writer's case, to microfilms of them), when it becomes apparent that they are not drawn at all from the chosen source.

However, not all is black. What has been said above will be enough to confirm that this is not an edition aimed at satisfying the needs of the scholar or historically-minded student: but then, Mme Leguy specifically claims that it is aimed at the performer. It does present clear and legible versions of some very great music, and versions that are more often good than not. In the absence of commentary, in the rather-too-large number of errors and dubious readings, in the dearth of really competent advice on performance (some guidance on the pronunciation of medieval French, for example), and in the presence of some very uncertain suggestions as to added accidentals and underlay, it falls short of the ideal performers' edition. And I am reluctant to believe that performers of early music are still unsophisticated enough to be satisfied with what they are offered here.

* *Guillaume de Machault 1300-1377: Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Sylvette Leguy (Paris, Le Droict Chemin de Musique, 1977): vol. I 'Les Virelais', £3.85; vol. II 'Les Rondeaux' (five more volumes to follow).

Illustration of priests succumbing to the sins of the flesh, accompanying Philippe de Vitry's motet in the Roman de Fauvel, *Paris, Bib. nat., f.fr. 146, f.41v*



Rameau at Covent Garden

ROGER SAVAGE

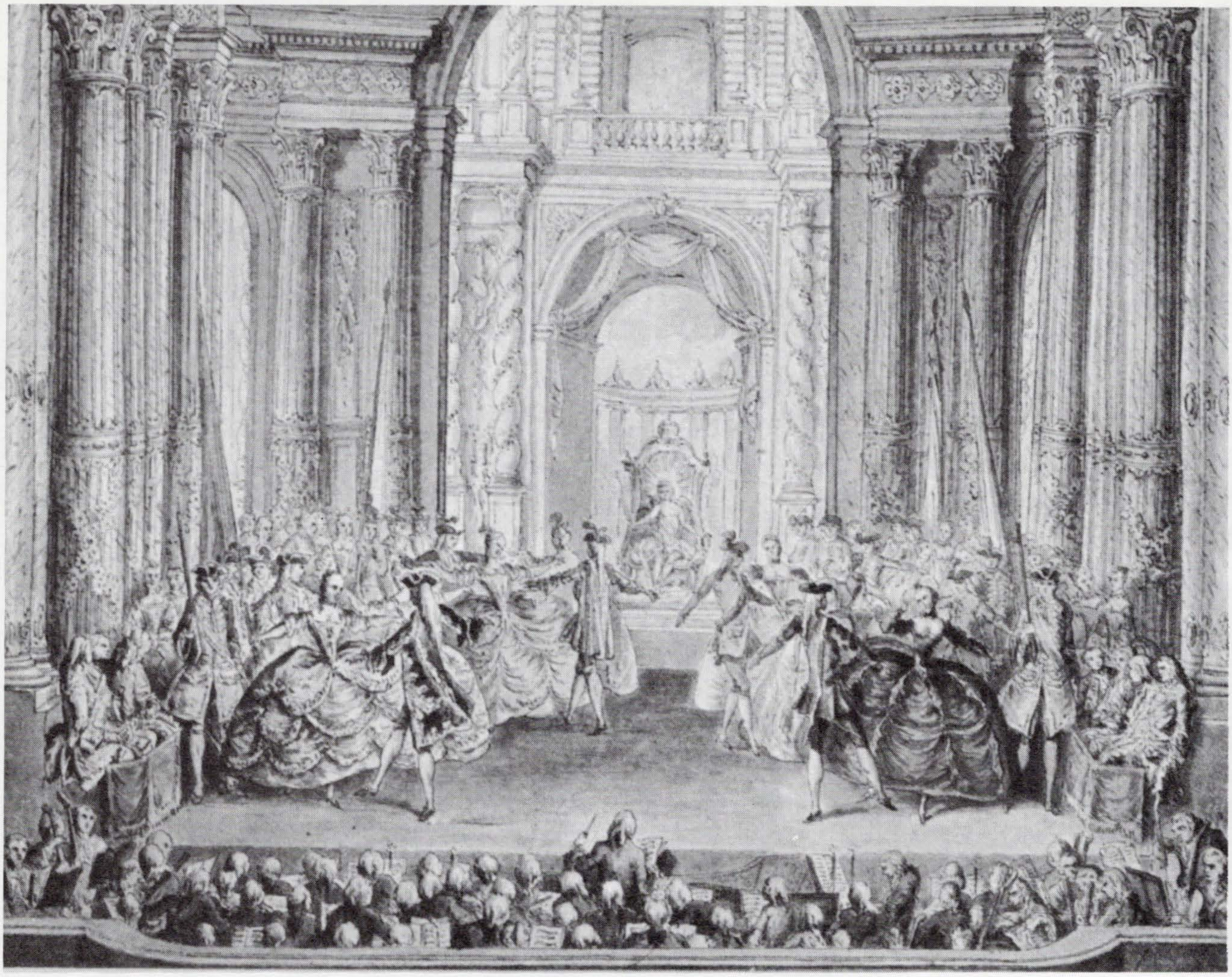
Monteverdi, Cavalli, Purcell, Handel: their stage works are beginning to make their way into the repertoires of at least some British opera houses. When will Rameau's join them? Granted there are problems of presentation: spectacle, choreography, singing style, language, the allegorical element. But the sheer musico-dramatic quality is there. '*Zoroastre* at the Coliseum by 1984!' should be the cry.

Trails have to be blazed, of course, before professional stagings of full-length Rameau works will find big audiences. Concert performances can help, and here John Eliot Gardiner has done valuable things, notably with *Les Fêtes d'Hébé* and *Les Boréades*. Then there are amateur stagings by college groups (we did a four-fifths complete *Indes Galantes* on the Edinburgh campus this February for instance, and our audiences took it like lambs), the commercial recordings usefully described by Nicholas Anderson in the July 76 number of *Early Music*, and professional productions of less-than-full-length works, notably the *Pygmalion* at last year's English Bach Festival, organized by Lina Lalandi (herself as staunch a Ramellian as Mr Gardiner).

But it was something else again to be promised the Real Thing, to read that on 24 April 1977 there was to be a full evening's worth of professional Rameau staged at Covent Garden, no less. 24 April was, it must be said, a Sunday. We were not to see the *Divertissement Royal à Versailles: La Princesse de Navarre* as part of the regular season of the Royal Opera; *their* Rameau initiation is yet to come. It was Miss Lalandi and her Bach Festival we again had to thank for the bold gesture of hiring the Garden for a night and filling it with a Rameau *comédie-ballet*.

It was an historically memorable night, and in ways which I shall try to outline, an artistically memorable one, too. This is not the place for a full-dress review, or even perhaps for a review of such reviews as the event got at the time. Enough to say on that score that the London critics did not perform impeccably: the *Sunday Times* did not know the play to which Rameau's music was originally attached; the *Observer* observed incorrectly that the music was 'more or less irrelevant' to the play; the *Spectator* described the dancers' costumes pertly as 'so many Woolworth lampshades' and the audience as throughout 'a quivering volcano of barely suppressed mirth' (which

Voltaire and Rameau at Betteville, 1765, by C. de Tersan. Bib. nat, Paris, 77 A 36474. Hz t.III



Engraving by C. N. Cochin, fils, of* La Princesse de Navarre *at Versailles, Bibl. Natl. Opéra.
Illustrated in François Lesure's L'Opéra classique français, *Editions Minkoff, Geneva, 1972.*
This superbly produced volume shows the remarkable unity between costume, décor and music

it was, if I remember rightly, at only one point in the first act); the *Telegraph* seemed put out that the baroque orchestra's A did not agree with the modern A of the *Telegraph*'s tuning fork, and declared that the piece contained 'acres of recitative' (when the ratio of recit. to other musical forms in *La Princesse* is actually surprisingly low). . . . It might be more appropriate in *Early Music* simply to offer one criticism of the event and present one bouquet.

My bouquet for the EBF's *Princesse* is in two sprays: one to Miss Quirey and one to Miss Lalandi, for their approach to choreography and costume. Miss Quirey's recreation of 18th-century dance patterns with the dancers dressed in recreations of Louis-René Boquet designs selected by Miss Lalandi set a good precedent for Rameau at Covent Garden. True, some things misfired: the puzzling use of a group of arch, rather cute Dresden shepherds and shepherdesses, for instance, and the over-rich mixture of fabric-colours in the final masque. And was I right in feeling that the choreographic style itself was a little old-fashioned for Rameau, *too* stately and straight-waisted, more apt for Lully and Campra? But the point was made, irrefutably it seemed to me, that any performance of pre-1750 music-theatre which includes dance and aims at musical authenticity should attempt a similar authenticity in movement, and that this will be easier and more seemly if the performers are wearing dance-dress of the period (to say nothing of the inherent beauty of that dress). The entry of the dancer-attendants on the

three Graces in *La Princesse de Navarre* was one of the most handsome and harmonious things I have seen in an opera house. One always knew it should be like this but despaired of ever seeing it.

The criticism has to do with the choice of work for Covent Garden, or at least with its treatment once chosen. *La Princesse de Navarre*, commissioned by Louis XV through the Duc de Richelieu to mark a Franco-Spanish dynastic marriage at Versailles in 1745, was conceived as a mixed-media piece to display as many of the flourishing arts of France as possible. Rameau wrote the music but—and it is no small 'but'—Voltaire wrote the words. These are basically a spoken comedy about relations between France and Spain, symbolized by the wooing of an unfortunate medieval Navarraise princess by a paragon among French princes. Worked carefully into the comedy are a series of masque-like entertainments concerned with courage, prophecy, love, harmony and the like, finishing with a spectacular transformation of the Pyrenees into a temple of Cupid and Hymen. Rameau's contribution is to set the texts of these entertainments and to add preludes, marches and copious dances. His music is highly serviceable, sometimes very imaginative, but by and large a little bland, lacking the light and shade and varying tensions of his major stage works. But why should it have these qualities? It achieves variety by its integration with Voltaire's spoken comedy, which again is often entertaining, always serviceable and sophisticated, and makes *en passant* some nicely self-aware points about masques and *divertissements*.

At Covent Garden the English Bach Festival left out the spoken play altogether. This is surely no more acceptable than it would be to do the same with *La Princesse*'s grandfather, the Molière-Lully *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, or her great-uncle and -aunt, Purcell's *King Arthur* and *Fairy Queen*. And not only on puristic grounds: the result did not make real sense. We saw a series of contextless masques in which amorous soldiers reassured no one in particular, gipsies told highly random fortunes, Graces paid tribute to the esteemed audience for lack of anyone apter to compliment, and there was no reason why the great mountain barrier should bow to the power of love (to say nothing of any visible sign of its so doing). Voltaire's ghost must have frowned, not only at having his play amputated, but at the consequent denaturing of the masquing itself: the removal both of the varying styles of performance the text asks for (theatrical in Act I, courtly in Act II, visionary in Act III), and also of the

***Costume for Thérese Vestris in Monteclair's* Jephté *c1761 production. Bibl. Natl. Opéra, D216. Also reproduced in François Lesure's* L'Opéra classique français

focus of the masques, which should either be a figure or figures on stage, or the royal newly-weds out front, or both together. This led to the characteristic glazed look and, except in the actual dances, unconvinced movement of too many of the performers too much of the time. Where, after all, were they to find dramatic motivation for looking at anyone with positive expression or for moving from A to B with any real conviction?

Why, in what was so clearly a worthwhile venture mounted by intelligent people, was this allowed to happen? Perhaps it was lack of money. When you have paid for dancers and singers, ancient instrumentalists, delightful reproductions of *c*1750 costumes, Belinda Quirey to choreograph and Jean-Claude Malgoire to conduct (not to mention the ROH itself), you may be near-bankrupt. The fact of hiding the chorus in the pit, which did little to increase the sense of festivity, and using scenery out of Covent Garden stock (the generally smoky shades of which tended to fight with the purer colours of the costumes) pointed that way; and I suppose it followed that the budget would not run to hiring a cast of French actors. Or could it have been that Miss Quirey's desire to choreograph as extended a chain of Rameau dances as possible and M. Malgoire's to conduct as untouched-of-late a Rameau score as possible dazzled the EBF into thinking that

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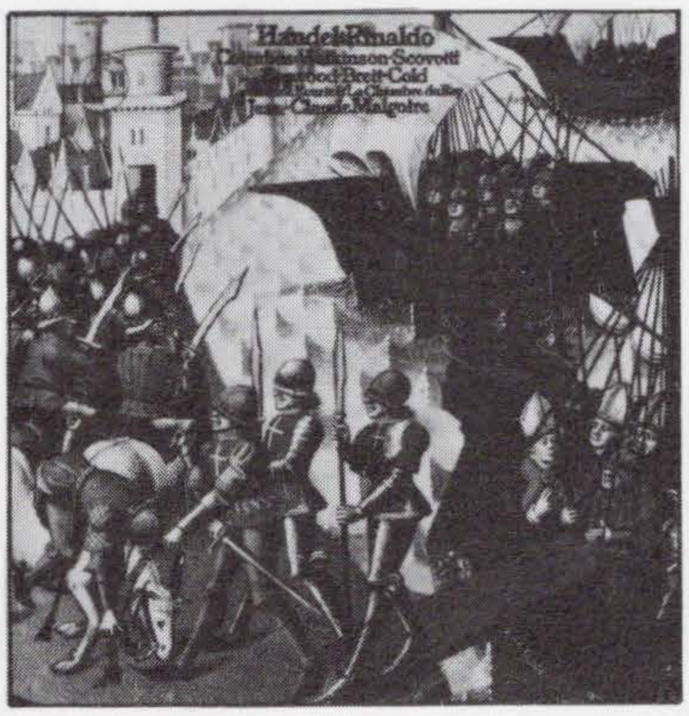

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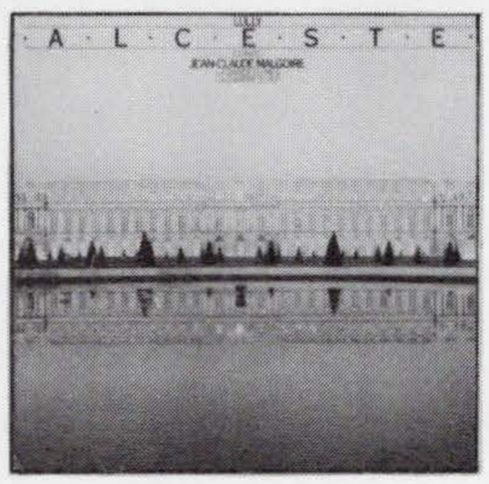

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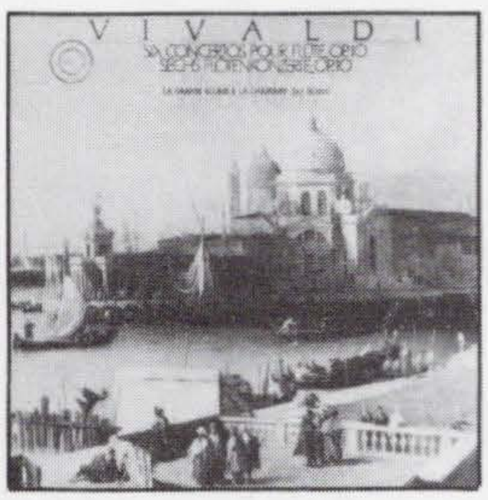

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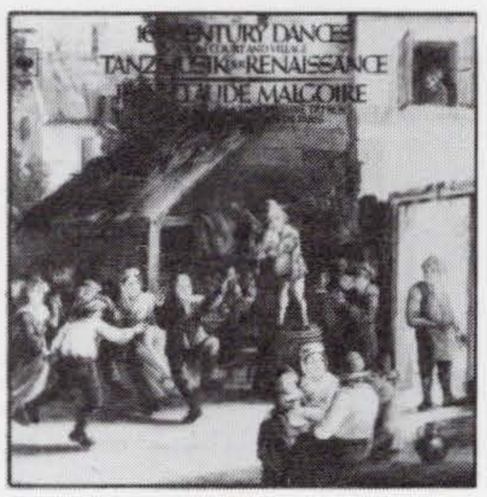

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they constituted between them sufficient cause for presenting the divertimenti from *La Princesse* as an independent art-work? Yet this was to put the cart before the horse surely, to be concerned with details of visual and aural surface before the nature of the beast has been probed and understood. Whichever the reason, the moral is the same. First find the true centre of the work you want to perform; then balance everything—the budget, the production's priorities—around that. And only perform the work if such a balancing is possible.

Two ways struck me of balancing this particular piece for an EBF audience. One would have been to do the whole thing, music plus play, in an English translation pastiched in a strongly 1740s idiom: not as bizarre or impractical a project as it might sound at first, and certainly helping to economize on French actors. (Discreetly and *proportionately* cut, it could run to $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours.) The other way, more appropriate for a production touring international festivals, would have been to give, not bleeding chunks of *La Princesse de Navarre*, but all of Rameau's *Les Fêtes de Ramire*, which is a through-sung piece dating from later in the same year as *La Princesse* and made up of substantially the same songs and dances, but without Voltaire's spoken text and with the addition of three singers and about ten minutes of music: in return for which you get a consistent, continuous musical work with a clear plot and an onstage heroine to whom the masquers can deliver their masques. A small price to pay for a great gain.

Still, the EBF's dancers stick very happily in the memory. It may take audiences a little time to learn to appreciate the look of a proper minuet or tambourin or chaconne, as it does to appreciate the sound of a what *is* choreographically 'proper' is of course open to a lot of lively discussion. But the welcome fact of such discussion should not cloud awareness of the desirability and practicability of aspiring to that Primal Rightness reflected in the way each theatre art related to the others at the première stagings of great music-theatre works. It is no service to Rameau any more than it is to Monteverdi, Cavalli, Purcell or Handel to assert that a composer's achievement in such a work is on a plane wholly removed from that of his choreographer, designer and librettist and that, while re-animating the composer's notes with an accurate love, we may safely ignore the contributions of his colleagues. The EBF was certainly under-concerned with Rameau's poet in *La Princesse de Navarre*; but they *did* do justice to his dress-designer and dancing master. With luck, pluck and judgement they might achieve that *Zoroastre* before 1984.

Rameau in the ascendant

European tour

Following the two presentations of *La Princesse de Navarre* in London and Oxford, Lina Lalandi took the production abroad. First, on Wednesday 15 June, Rameau's *Divertissement Royal*, as it was announced prior to its first performance in 1745, was staged in the Opéra Royal of the château at Versailles. This, so to speak, was a homecoming even though the theatre in which the EBF presented it was only completed in 1774, nearly thirty years after the Dauphin's wedding. The original production had lasted about three and a half hours and had been staged in the riding stables of the château. The little theatre which existed in Le Petit Trianon was far too small and it was frequently the custom, in Paris and Versailles at least, to mount more lavish spectacles either in the jeux de paume (tennis courts) or in other buildings easy to clear and to prepare such as the riding-school at Versailles.

In 1745, after the performance, we read that the audience, comprising members of the Court, but not

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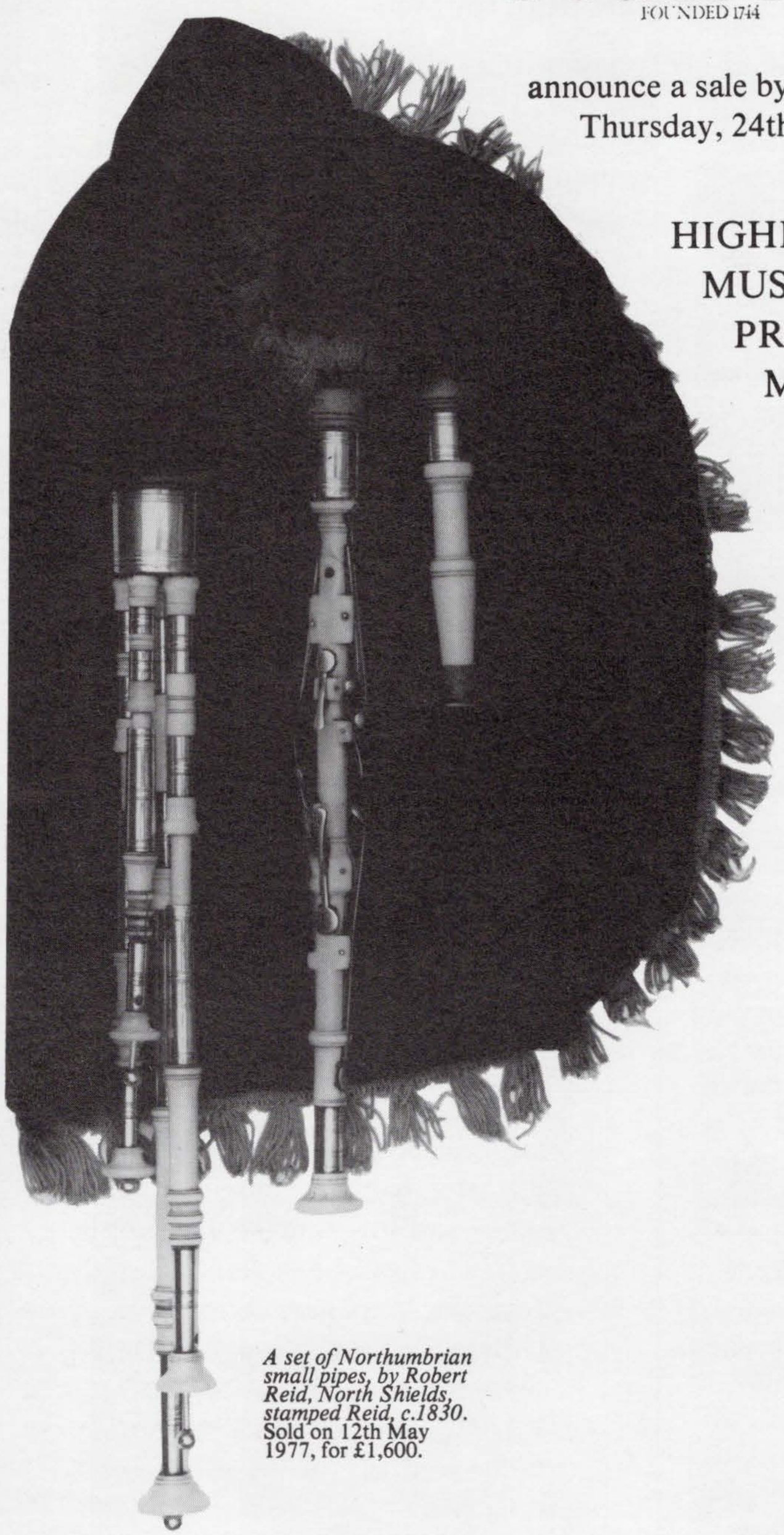

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From the Covent Garden production in London, influenced by the costume designed for Mlle Lany, on the right

This watercolour costume design (plate 69 in Lesure's splendid book) shows the fidelity of research that lay behind the costumes in the London production

townsfolk, strolled about in the grounds of Versailles, appropriately illuminated for the occasion. After the EBF production a similar privilege was granted to both cast and audience, though this time it was the interior of the château that was lit up for visitors to wander at their leisure from room to room. The sheer scale of the main building was breathtaking and one could readily see that Versailles was not only a palace, but had been a community, a way of life; and at the same time that pithy, acid comment by La Bruyère came to mind: 'The most honourable thing we can say of a man is, that he does not understand the court; there is scarcely a virtue which we do not imply when saying this'!

After Versailles, the production went to a small town in the Duchy of Luxembourg. Echternach, whose history goes back to Roman times, is only a mile or two from the German border. Here, in 1976, a very enterprising man launched his first international music festival. Its success was enormous, so this year, he spread his wings even wider and brought together a wide variety of artists and musical entertainments chief among which, from the spectacular point of view, was the EBF Rameau production. The setting here was quite different from that at Versailles. The presentation, in fact, was in the open air, and took place in the courtyard of an 18th-century Abbey, completed in 1745, the year in which *La Princesse de Navarre* was first seen.

Lastly, Miss Lalandi presented her comédie-ballet in Granada in the grounds of the Alhambra Palace. Here, as indeed in all but one of the five productions, it played to a full house and, on this occasion, the Spanish Queen herself attended. All things considered, then, Miss Lalandi has reason to be well pleased by her daring gamble with a genre of entertainment of which she had no proof of its plausibility or possible popularity. Those of us who saw *La Princesse de Navarre* can only be grateful for her enterprise and her determination to place the work of a neglected composer before commercial considerations.

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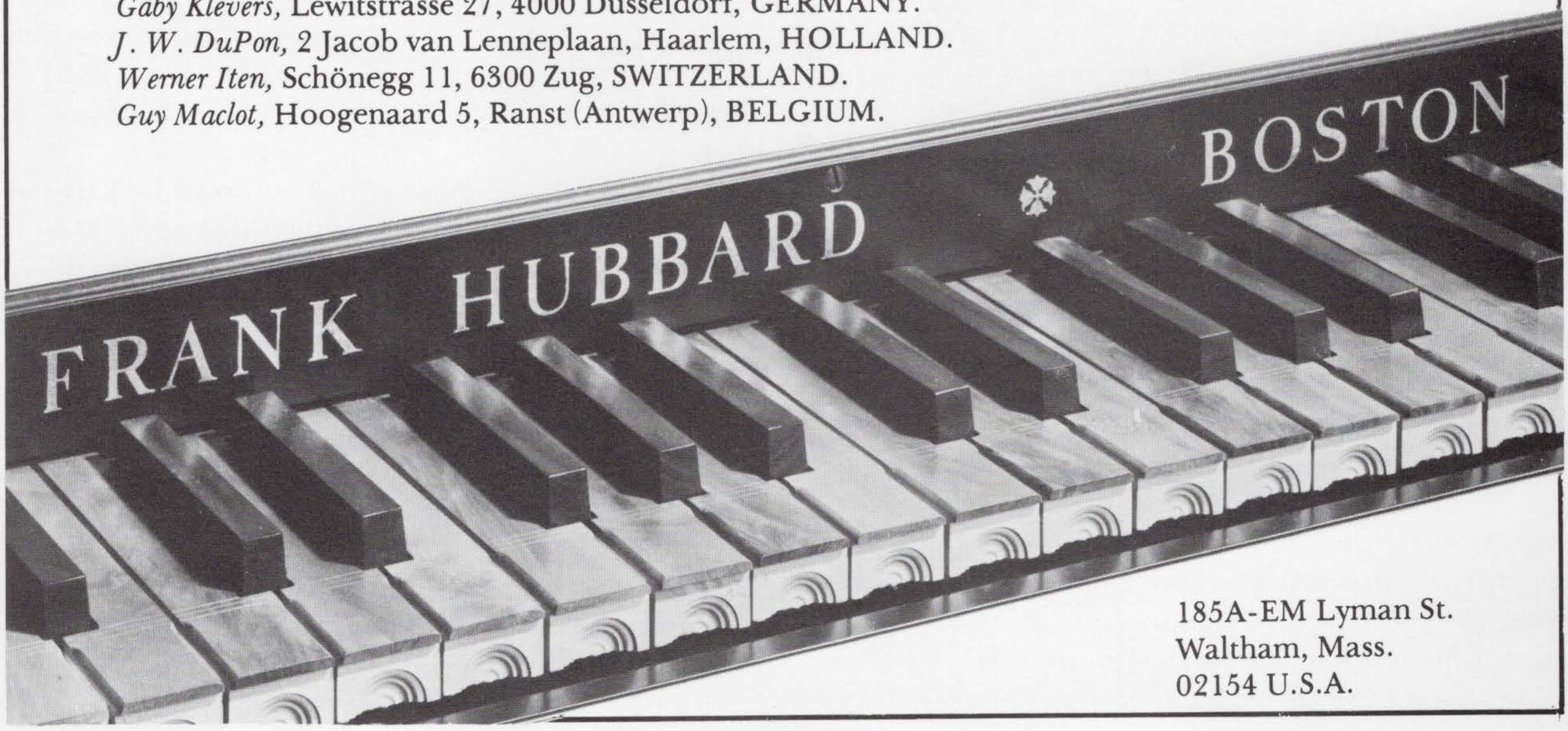

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Musicians' costumes in the Restoration theatre

DIANA DE MARLY

Samuel Pepys *(1666) by John Hayls (active 1650-66), National Portrait Gallery no. 221*

Wit at Severall Weapons, *engraving by E. Knight after F. Boitard in The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher (London 1711) VI p. 3369, Senate House Library University of London*

During the Restoration there were two ways in which musicians might appear before the public in a playhouse; first, when they were performing in the band, and secondly, when they appeared on stage during the dramatic action. Relations between the public theatre and the Court were very close at this time,[1] particularly during the reigns of Charles II and James II, and those musicians belonging to the royal household, such as the 24 violins and the children of the Chapel Royal, could find themselves appearing in both public and Court entertainments. It is not surprising, therefore, that several regulations were laid down by the Lord Chamberlain throughout the period to control what musicians wore, and how they behaved, when in a playhouse.[2]

One aspect of such regulations concerned the appearance of musicians when the king and queen were to attend a performance, either in a public theatre or at Court. Thus in 1663/4 the Lord Chamberlain instructed the Master of the Great Wardrobe, the first Earl of Sandwich, to deliver to Thomas Killigrew, Master of His Majesty's Comedians at the Theatre Royal, up to the value of

> . . . forty pounds in silkes for to cloath the Musick for the play called the Indian Queene to bee acted before their Ma!ties Jan. 25th 1663.[3]

This was followed in 1664/5 by two orders concerning the royal band of 24 violins, when appearing at either of the playhouses. The Great Wardrobe, which clothed all royal servants and officials, was ordered to

> . . . make up Habitts of seuerall coloured Silkes for foure and Twenty violins twelue of them being for his Ma!ties service in the Theatre Royall and the other twelue Habitts for His Ma!ties service in His Highnesse the Duke of Yorkes Theatre and also foure and Twenty Garlands of seuerall coloured flowers . . .[4]

What such habits could be like is shown by a similar order made for clothing the musicians when they were appearing at Court, under the general direction of the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert. This was for

> Habitts of seuerall coloured rich Taffataes for fower and Twenty violins like Indian Gownes but not soe full with short sleeues to the Elbow and trymmed with Tinsell about the neck and bottome and at the sleeues after the fashion as S!r Henry Herbert shall informe yo!r Lo!pp and to bee deliuered to S!r Henry Herbert for his Ma!ts extraordinary service and also fowr and twenty Garlands of seuerall coloured floures to each of them.[5]

'Indian Gownes' may seem a strange choice for English musicians, but these were not bizarre garments

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being used to make the musicians look exotic—simply one of the usual forms of undress so popular during the restoration period and after.

Following the restraints of the Commonwealth government, it became very fashionable to wear undress quite widely, both at home and out-of-doors. The principal form of undress for both sexes was the night-gown, the modern form of which is termed the dressing-gown. The night-gown shed rapidly any exclusive associations with bed-chambers, for it was worn sometimes when driving in a coach and sometimes by ladies on visits to the theatre, although it was never used for formal occasions such as dinner parties or going to Court. There were several sorts of night-gown then in favour, such as morning gowns and sultana gowns, the first for men, and the second for women. These all varied in types of material, in types of sleeve, and in forms of fastening. The Indian Gown, sometimes termed the Bengal gown, was usually made of cotton or silk and could be worn by both sexes. Charles II and his queen Catherine of Braganza both had Indian gowns, supplied by Robert Croft, the royal featherman.[6]

One of the best documented illustrations of an Indian gown is that worn by Samuel Pepys in the portrait by Hayls (page 507). Pepys had bought himself an Indian gown in 1661 for 34*s*.,[7] but when he came to have his portrait painted in 1666 he decided to hire one:

> . . . and so to Hales's and there sat till almost quite dark upon working my gowne, which I hired to be drawn [in] it—an Indian gown, and I do see all the reason to expect a most excellent picture of it.[8]

As can be seen it was a loose, wrap-over gown, with long sleeves. The popularity of such informal gowns was by no means confined to England, for it was part of international high fashion. In Puget's *The Musicians of Louis XIV*, reproduced on the cover of *Early Music* in October 1976 (also on the cover of the 1976 bound volume), the two seated at the table and the two standing in the centre are all wearing forms of Indian gowns. The fullness of the sleeves is such that they have to be pushed back up the arm to enable the wrist and hand to be free enough to play an instrument. The wig could be removed when wearing a night-gown among friends, and in this case the head could be kept warm by either a fur cap or a turban, such as that worn by the young man on the left of the painting.

It should be stated, however, that a degree of caution must be exercised when looking at representations of musicians in painting, in order to discriminate between straightforward portraiture, and more fanciful *genre* scenes. In the latter school musicians were often used in a decorative manner, dressed in pseudo-historical costume, to create a 'romantic' composition, so it should not be assumed that this was how musicians always appeared before the public. H. M. Sorgh's *The Lute Player*, for instance, also reproduced on page 419 in the October 1976 issue, mixes a wide lace collar of *c*1635 with the breeches and stockings of 1661, and a vaguely 16th-century beret. In the Puget picture, two of Louis XIV's musicians are in pseudo-historical dress, the man with the striped doublet and the youth with a ruff, in imitation of early 17th-century modes. It is possible that they are shown 'in costume' after performing in an entertainment, whereas their friends are at their ease in night-gowns.

As for Indian gowns for English musicians, they were comfortable and easy to wear, but such garments were very plain. Consequently, as shown in the regulations above, those for the twenty-four violins were to be decorated with tinsel, thereby providing a degree of glitter which would add an air of richness suitable for royal servants performing before the Court. A highly practical instruction was the requirement of elbow-length sleeves, which shows an awareness that the long sleeves of true Indian gowns would have hampered string players.

Now it may be asked, why did Charles II require his band to wear decorated dressing-gowns? The answer lies in the floral garlands. At the Fraternity Feast of the Company of Ironmongers, on 21 September 1671, for instance, the new stewards processed with 'garlands about their heads & musique playing before them . . .'[9] One of the attractions of night-gowns, apart from the obvious comfort of undress, was their vaguely classical nature. The loose folds had a resemblance to antique drapery, and were considered to give the wearer an air of Roman dignity. The 17th century, in terms of historical characterization, considered itself Roman, and employed many features of Roman visual vocabulary.[10] Thus the wearing of wreaths in the manner of classical laurels, together with Indian gowns draped *à l'antique*, meant that the royal musicians were being presented as noble Romans and worthy servants of Apollo. This was an international phenomenon, for when Evelyn saw the original twenty-four violins, those of Louis XIV, in 1651, they were 'vested *à l'antique* . . .'[11] In other words, Charles II not only copied his French cousin's band, but he dressed it in much the same way.

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(Schiller: The Lay of the Bell)

It is noticeable that the violins were given two outfits for their theatrical appearances; coloured silk gowns when in the public playhouses, and taffeta enriched with tinsel when at Court.

On very special occasions, however, the royal musicians were also given even richer costumes. When Crown's masque *Calisto* was produced at the Hall Theatre, in Whitehall Palace in 1674/5, with the Duke of York's daughters Princess Mary and Princess Anne in the cast, the musicians received a special wardrobe. Twenty violinists were dressed in taffeta gowns of cherry, blue or yellow, all laced with silver gauze, and with garlands on their heads. The two 'haute boyes' had gowns of green silk, laced with silver gauze, and caps of gilt leather. The four guitarists were clothed in white taffeta robes with caps of gilt leather and feathers. The four trumpeters and the drummer wore vests of cherry taffeta with hanging sleeves, laced with silver gauze, and caps of gold gauze. Thus they were dressed no less richly than some of the characters in the masque, although the principals were even more magnificent. The clothes for the musicians cost from £4 to £6 each, whereas the leading ladies paid some £300 for each of theirs, not including the jewels.[12] This expenditure on the musicians only concerned those who were visible to the audience; there were another thirteen violins, two harpsichords, two theorboes, three bass viols, and two recorders, for whose players no special costumes were supplied, which suggests that they were playing behind the scenes.[13]

It will be observed that some of the musicians involved in *Calisto* were given hats. The wearing of hats was a very sensitive matter in the 17th century. Men wore hats at dinner and in church, but they had to remove them in the presence of a social superior. Pepys, for example, was very worried whether he had kept his hat off long enough, when he and the Duke of York had been at opposite ends of St James's Park.[14] On the other hand, permission to wear a hat in the presence of a superior was accounted a great honour; when the Chancellor the Earl of Clarendon wanted Pepys to do him a favour, he told him to keep his hat on.[15] Accordingly the wearing of hats by musicians could involve censure. It was permissible for them to do so as part of special costumes for a performance, even in the presence of royalty, but it was not permitted that they should sport their everyday hats in the presence of their superiors. In 1698/9 the Lord Chamberlain informed the Theatre of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields that

> Several persons of Quality having made Complaint to me that the Musick belonging to yo^{r} Theatre behave themselves disrespectfully towards them, by wearing their Hats on both in the Playhouse, and upon the Stage; These are therefore to Require you, to give orders that for y^{e} future they take care to be uncovered.[16]

Musicians were not granted any favours in this respect.

The appearance of musicians on stage during the action was a regular feature of Restoration theatre. Scenes of celebration and ceremony invariably required the presence of music, as can be seen in some of the stage directions. In Lord Orrery's *The Tragedy of King Saul*, David is given a triumph for his defeat of Goliath:

> . . . After the Trumpets, some enter carrying Goliah's Spear, Helmet, & Coat, then a Sett of Musick; after them some with the Sword and Head . . . (II ii),

where the musicians are marching in a procession. Dramatic operas often employed musicians as part of the spectacle, and as such works were lavishly costumed this included the music. Shadwell's *Psyche*, taken from Molière's *tragédie-ballet* and produced at Dorset Garden Playhouse in 1674/5, had as its finale a Heaven;

> Below the Heavens, several Semicircular Clouds, of the Breadth of the whole House, descend. In these Clouds sit the Musicians, richly habited. On the front Cloud sits Apollo alone. (V iii).

Such presentation of large-scale moving scenery with characters on board, of course, went back to the Renaissance, but the relation between musicians and Apollo, god of music, was even older. The association had lost none of its symbolic importance, and this was reflected in the costuming. Thus Crowne's *The History of Charles VIII of France; or, The Invasion of Naples by the French*, produced at Dorset Garden Playhouse in 1671, has a symbolic masque in Act V:

> . . . near the Chairs the Music in White Robes, and Laurels on their heads . . .

where the instrumentalists are dressed not in the 15th-century costume of the period of the play, but in the antique manner of white robes signifying celestial purity, and crowned with classical honours, for they are seen as representatives of the ultimate harmony of the spheres.

The use of colour symbolism for musicians was not confined to tragedy or dramatic opera. The Duke of Buckingham's burlesque on heroic tragedy, *The Rehearsal*, produced at the Theatre Royal, Bridge

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Street, Drury Lane, in 1671, may mock bombast, but it takes its colour seriously:

(The two right kings of Brentford descend in the Clouds, singing in white garments; and three Fidlers sitting before them, in green . . .' (V vi).)

Here the white of purity enforces the legitimacy of the claim of the two kings, while the fiddlers' green represents the youthful aspiration of their cause.

These directions for clothing musicians on stage are closely paralleled by those given for singers. In Lord Orrery's *The Black Prince*, produced at the Theatre Royal in 1667, the main spectacle occurs in Act II:

. . . two Scenes of Clouds appear, the one within the other; in the hollow of each Cloud are Women and men richly apparell'd, who sing in Dialogue and Chorus, as the Clouds descend to the Stage; . . .

which requires the same sort of rich appearance as the musicians in *Psyche*, and reflects the splendour in which they were dressed at Court performances.

In another of Orrery's works, *Herod the Great* of 1672, the Temple of Jerusalem is presented in II i with its priests:

The Singing Priests are all in their white Robes, with wreaths of Laurel on their Heads; . . .

This is the same attire as the musicians had in Crowne's *Charles VIII* the year before. Thus in the public playhouse both the singing and playing representatives of music could be dressed the same. This does not apply to dancers who were costumed in a great variety of ways, ranging from classical spirits to all the nations of the contemporary world.

Illustrations of musicians on the English stage at this time are extremely rare. Both the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and the Hall Theatre in Whitehall Palace, suffered disastrous fires. In addition, the mergers, splits, and moves from one house to another, which took place between the theatrical companies, were not conducive to the preservation of drawings and engravings. On the other hand there is an abundance of Continental material, and many examples of European design could then be obtained in England. Inigo Jones is known to have ordered engravings of Florentine festivities from the Florentine Resident in London during the 1630s,[17] while in 1668 the bookseller Martin of St Paul's Churchyard was only one of those stocking contemporary European publications,[18] and of course engravings of recent theatrical performances could be ordered direct from Paris and elsewhere.[19] In addition several French and Italian companies visited London between 1660 and 1688.[20] All such traffic suggests that the difference between English and Continental stage design was not extreme, so that an Italian example of deities in cloud machines (below) would be roughly similar to an English design for musicians and other characters appearing in the heavens. Furthermore, Inigo Jones had designed cloud machines for musicians, notably for Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* in 1640,[21] but none of these sources illustrate the clothing of musicians in any detail during a performance of tragedy or opera. There are some examples of individual costume designs for dancers representing aspects of music, but these can hardly be regarded as being for professional musicians.

There is, however, one English illustration of musicians performing during a comedy. This is F. Boitard's drawing, engraved by E. Knight, as the frontispiece to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons* (page 507), in the complete 1711 edition of their works. How far this represents an actual theatrical performance is open to some doubt. The position of the dancers and the curtain suggests that they are facing towards the audience, but the musicians are depicted playing in a box over a group of spectators at the back. Earlier in the century the music had been placed behind the acting area,[22] but in the Restoration period the music was brought forwards. At the Duke of York's Theatre, Dorset Garden, the musicians sat in a box over the proscenium arch, while at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, they sat in the pit,[23] so Boitard's representation is at least open to question. The text of the comedy does require two characters in Act V to appear on stage in masquerade as musicians, but they continue to take part in the action, and there are no directions that they should be segregated in a box, as depicted in the engraving.

In so far as the drawing shows the clothing of musicians it reveals a mixture. The cellist on the left is in a contemporary coat and fur cap. The central violinist wears a fool's cap, while the violinist on the far right has a falling ruff and Spanish-type doublet typical of the pseudo-historical costume then used in

Detail from The Garden of Venus, *engraving by Stefana della Bella (1610-64) for Act V scene 12 of A. Moniglia's Ercole in Tebe, Florence 1661, British Museum*

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many non-classical plays. The harpist has a rather Tudoresque cap. Such variety of historical details relates more to *genre* painting than to the classical gowns and wreaths required by textual evidence. Nevertheless, given the nature of comedy, it would seem reasonable to allow for a greater variety of dress for musicians in that sphere, than in the more noble areas of tragedy and opera.

The distinction would lie in what the musicians were intended to represent. In comedy they could be an additional source of entertainment and might be dressed accordingly, but in tragedy and opera they were representatives of their art, the attendants on divinity, and thus were dressed in the same classical manner, as interpreted by their period, as musicians in history painting.

[1] See A. Nicoll, *A History of English Drama* (4th ed., Cambridge, 1967), vol. I *Restoration Drama 1660-1700*, and E. Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage 1660-1702* (London, 1966).
[2] Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain's warrants, LC 5/15 f.3, 17 May 1674.
[3] *ibid*, LC 5/138 f.15.
[4] *ibid*, f.45.
[5] *ibid*, f.46.
[6] E. Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia* (15th ed., London, 1684), p. 179.
[7] S. Pepys, *The Diary*, complete transcription ed. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 1970-76) II, entry for 1 July 1661.
[8] *ibid*, VIII entry for 30 March 1666.
[9] J. Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1959), entry for 21 September 1671, p. 558.
[10] See my 'The Establishment of Roman Dress in Seventeenth Century Portraiture', *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1975, pp. 443-451.
[11] Evelyn, op cit, entry for 11 May 1651, p. 301.
[12] Boswell, op cit, pp. 214-219, and pp. 304-306.
[13] Boswell, op cit, p. 221.
[14] Pepys, op cit, IV entry for 27 July 1663.
[15] Pepys, op cit, V entry for 14 July 1664.
[16] Nicoll, op cit, p. 361.
[17] J. Orrell, 'Inigo Jones and Amerigo Salvetti: A Note on the Later Masque Designs', *Theatre Notebook*, 1976, vol. XXX no. 2, pp. 109-114.
[18] Pepys, op cit, IX entries for 10 January 1668 and 13 January 1668.
[19] Pepys, op cit, IX entry for 25 January 1669.
[20] S. Rosenfeld, 'Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *The Society for Theatre Research Pamphlet Series*, no. 4 (1955).
[21] J. Harris, S. Orgel, R. Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, catalogue of the 1973 quatercentenary exhibition at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, fig. 159 p. 89.
[22] *ibid*, figs 147-148 p. 85.
[23] See T. Dolle's engravings in E. Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* (London, 1673), and Sir Christopher Wren's theatre section drawing in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford. For the location of musicians in the Hall Theatre, Whitehall Palace, see Boswell, op cit, pp. 168-170.

Diana de Marly is an Art historian specializing in costume analysis. A graduate of the University of Oxford, the Central School of Art, and the Courtauld Institute of Art, she holds the Susette Taylor travelling Research Fellowship at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

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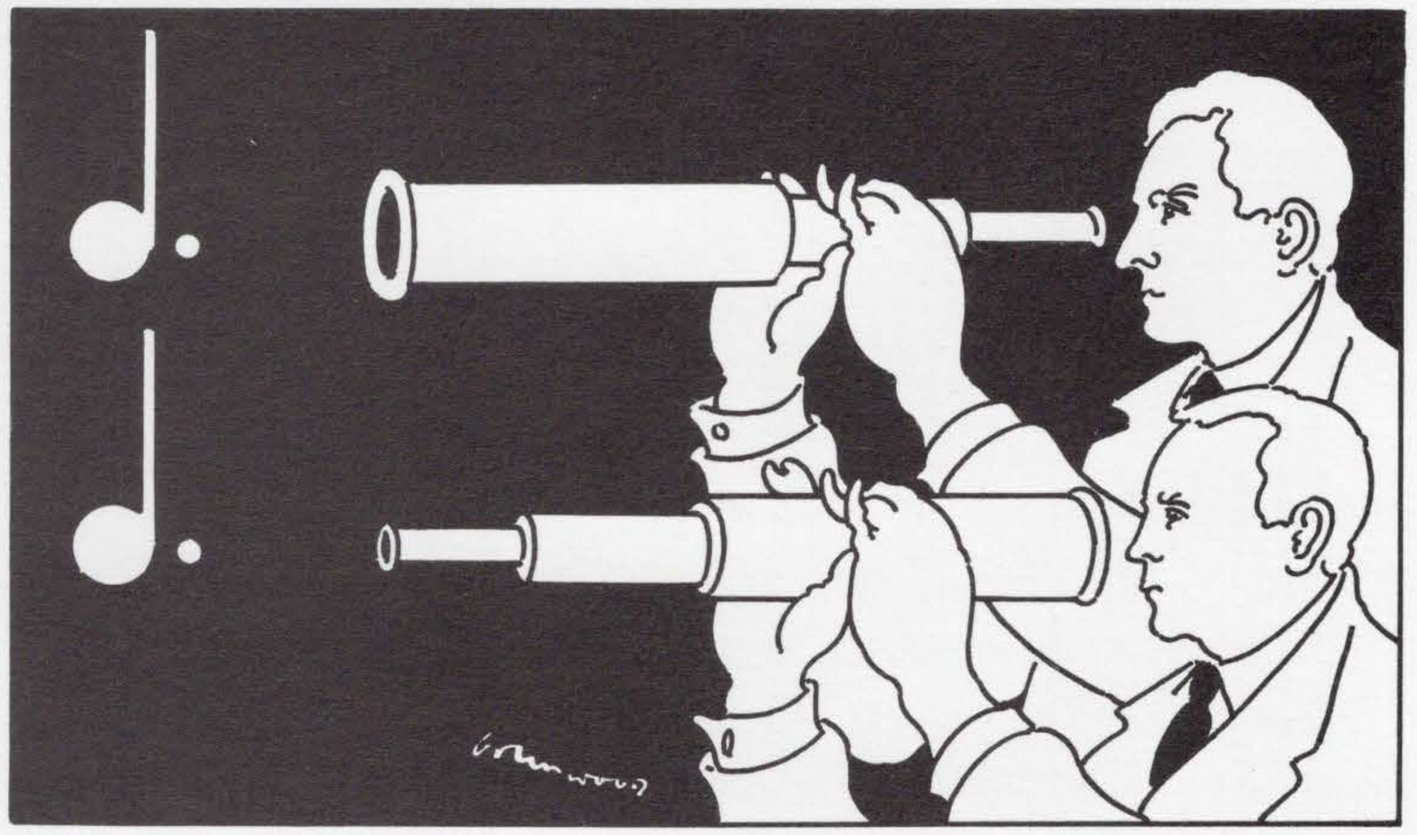
Dotting, the 'French style' and Frederick Neumann's Counter-Reformation

DAVID FULLER



I have been asked to respond to Frederick Neumann's article on dotted notes, a translation of which appeared in the last issue of *Early Music*, to 'put the other point of view'. It is a delicate assignment, to answer in 1977 ideas originally published in 1965. They may have undergone modification or refinement; a large work on baroque ornamentation by the same author is now in the press. Moreover, a direct answer by Michael Collins has already appeared, and Neumann's reaction to it was published two issues later in the same journal.[1] But because the article is new to English-speaking readers and wields perhaps even more authority now than it did at first by virtue of the volume of Neumann's writings which have accumulated since, and because it raises serious questions not only of substance but even more, concerning the tactics of scholarly dispute, I felt obliged to accept.

Readers familiar with the literature on performance practice will be aware that these articles form part of a much broader controversy which reached its climax in the sixties with what might be called the *querelle des inégales*, a heated exchange of at least a dozen articles and communications in various journals on the subject of inequality.[2] The controversy as a whole extended, however, to trills, appoggiaturas, and triplets, as well as to inequality and dotted notes, and its beginnings went back to the early 1950s. On the 'left' were scholars following the paths blazed by Borrel (1912), Dolmetsch (1915), and Arger (1917-21): Donington, Babitz, Geoffroy-Dechaume, Collins, and a few others.[3] On the 'right' stood Neumann, almost alone as a spokesman, but backed by a 'silent majority' mistrustful of the new zealots who would challenge the most fundamental values of musical performance and who seemed ready to cast on to the rubbish heap the great musicians of a generation gone by—the Beechams, the Schweitzers, the Casalses, the Duprés. Many other writers as well, right, left, and centre, also discoursed on these subjects, though without becoming directly involved as attackers or targets.[4]

Let us first try to determine exactly what Neumann's article is about. In his own words: 'Among the questions concerning rhythm in old French music [is] the dotted note and the so-called "French style" of overdotting. [This] is proclaimed as a well-established principle . . . This theory of performing dotted notes is the subject of the present study . . . [It] consists essentially of two elements: one is overdotting, and the other synchronization. Overdotting means that the dot after a note is to be lengthened by a second or even a third dot, or a corresponding silence, and that the short note that follows the dot should be played as late as possible. Synchronization means that if, for example, there are dotted quarters in one voice and dotted eighths in the other, the short notes following the dot must be played simultaneously and as quickly as possible.'

Overdotting is thus defined, contrary to what one might expect, not merely as an *increase* in the ratio of long to short, but as the *greatest possible* increase. Strictly speaking, the explanation of synchronization is

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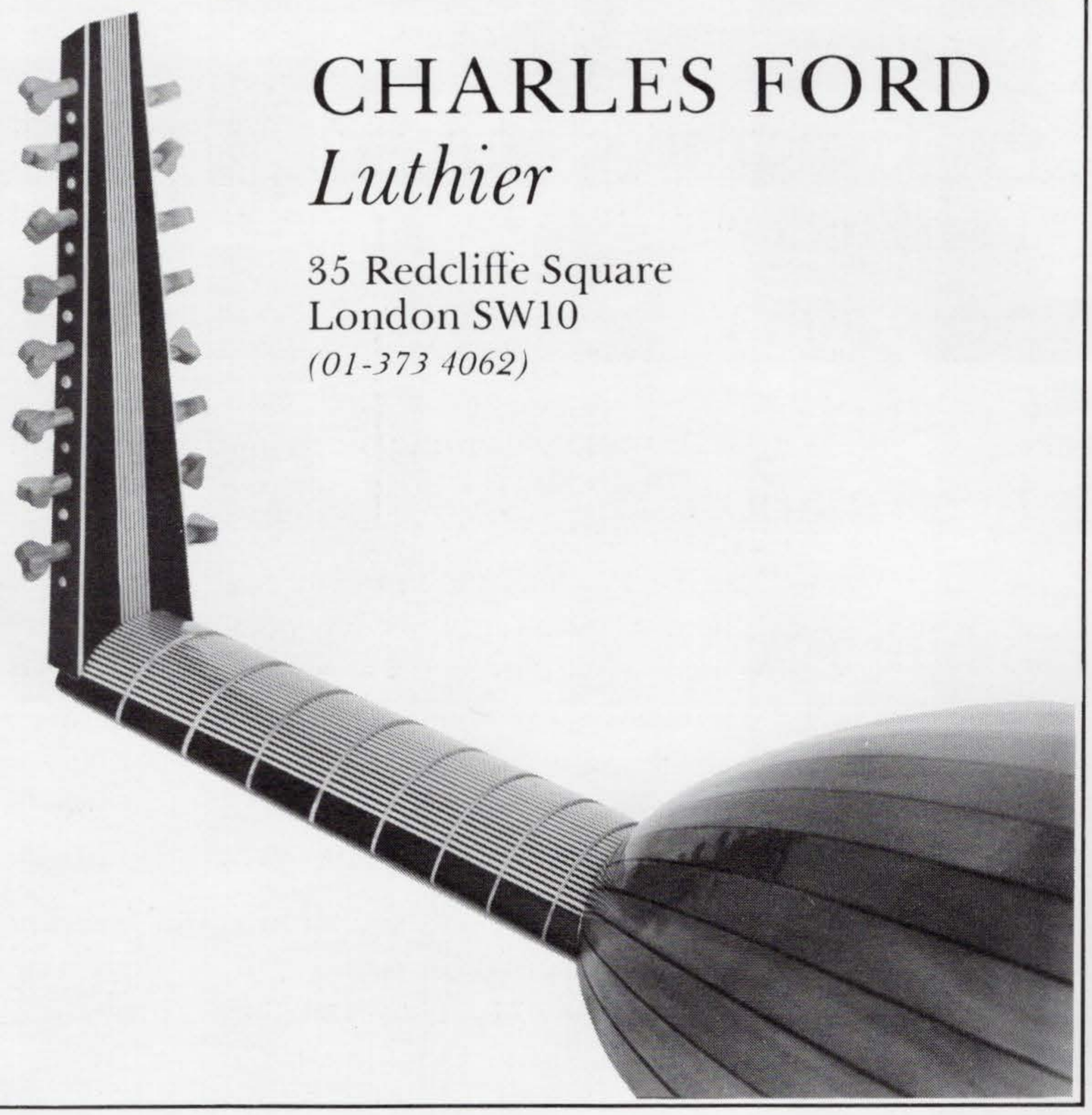

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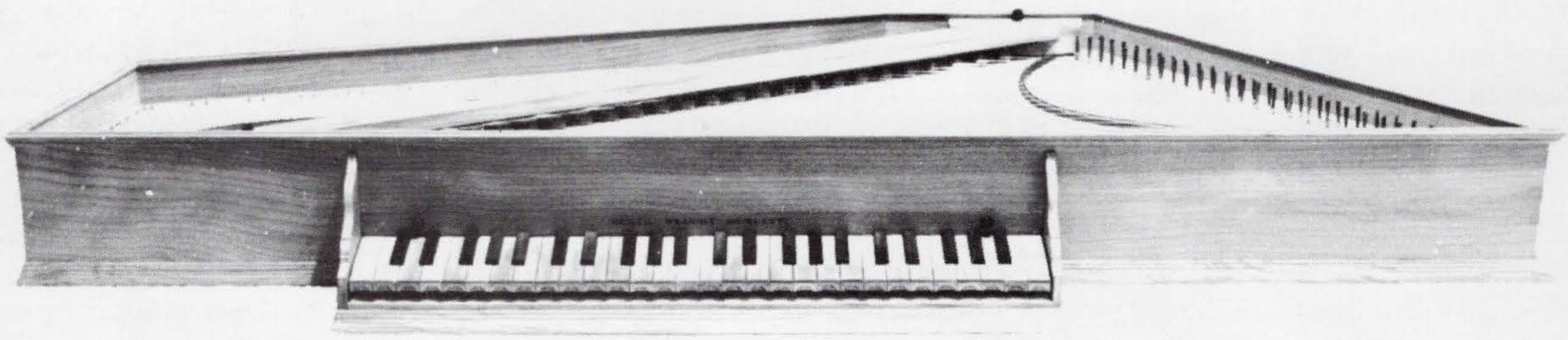

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then redundant, as it is a consequence of overdotting so defined. If the corresponding short notes are played as quickly (i.e. as late) as possible, they will necessarily sound together, whatever their value. There are two absolutes in this definition, and they are confirmed as such again and again throughout the article: 'obligatory' and 'extreme'. They are important, since the author concedes that the ratio between long and short was sometimes increased beyond the written value and the short notes of dissimilar dotted figures in different voices were sometimes synchronized; yet he proposes to show that claims for the existence of the 'manner' as defined are ill-supported or unfounded: 'The conclusion will be reached that the theory of the "French style" of obligatory overdotting is based, in large part, more on legend than on historical fact.' The method by which this conclusion is to be reached has two phases: a review of the arguments that have been advanced for the French style and an 'attempt . . . to find other sources of information that can shed light on the problem', which in the event turns out to be a review of three more hypothetical arguments.

Although I felt from the beginning that something was wrong with this approach, I must confess that it took me a very long time to put my finger on it. This is partly because I confused what seemed to be the intention of the article with its actual conclusion. The intention is never stated explicitly, but it is implicit in the wording of the final paragraph: 'When we play the overtures, sarabandes, chaconnes, etc., of Lully, Rameau, Handel and Bach, it is a mistake to deprive them of their majestic dignity in favour of the frantic style of jerks and jolts . . . In any case, for many listeners a prolonged series of jerks and jolts can be rather irritating . . .' The intention seems to be to declare the 'style' not only untenable but undesirable—to persuade the reader to share the author's distaste for overdotting and his preference for an execution which conforms more closely to the written values. 'Others . . . have the privilege of their taste, but they must cease the claim of historical authenticity.' This intention has nothing to do with musicology nor with history and Neumann does not claim that it does; indeed he separates taste and authenticity with a firm 'but'. Still, there is an affective quality to his writing—here and elsewhere—that sweeps the reader beyond the letter of his conclusions. Here it is first betrayed by the scorn with which he adopts Dart's epithet 'jerky' to describe the 'style' and it is confirmed by the relentless efficiency with which he strikes again and again at his colleagues without ever conceding an ounce of value to their work, as if they were enemies to be conquered. The motive force seems to go beyond a simple curiosity about the past and the reader is caught up in it.

The highly formal approach with which Neumann cloaks his polemic depends for its validity upon a monolithic 'theory' which can be manipulated like a term in a syllogism; this is the reason for the absolute expressions in which it is couched. Since it is necessary to concede *some* extreme overdotting, *some* synchronization, and a good deal of flexibility in treatment of the dot, he must have a theory which will not come unstuck on contact with such early prescriptions for overdotting as he admits. He needs to be able to say, 'Very well, Quantz does seem to be recommending a form of overdotting here, but one or another element of the theory is lacking, therefore this evidence cannot be used to corroborate the existence of the "style" '. For example, he quotes C. P. E. Bach as saying, 'A general rule [of overdotting] has been advanced which, however, *allows for many exceptions. . . . If only one type of execution is allowed, one loses the other types*' [Neumann's italics]. Neumann goes on: 'This last sentence seems to repudiate the "style" *which admits of only one type*' [my italics].

The irony is that the 'style' as he defines it exists nowhere but in his theory. He says it is most clearly articulated by Dart; since he does not give the passage, we had better do so here. In fairness to Dart, it should be pointed out that as much time separated his book from Neumann's article as separates Neumann from the present review.

'Rhythms that are already written as dotted ones, whether they are iambic or trochaic, need to have the disparity between the lengths of the notes emphasized; otherwise they will sound lazy . . . [Here he excepts such pieces as the D major fugue from Book 1 of the *Well-Tempered Clavichord*] . . . in an overture in the French style, for instance, all the parts should move together, jerkily, even though their written note-values do not suggest that this is how they should be played. *All* [Dart's italics] dotted rhythms should be adjusted so that they fit the shortest one in the piece . . . This conventional lengthening of the dotted note and the shortening of the complementary note was in very widespread use over a very great length of time, and ignorance of this fact is one of the gravest defects of present-day performance of old music. It is a fashion that lasted from the early years of the seventeenth century down to the last years of the nineteenth.'[5]

This is indeed a sweeping advocacy of overdotting and it certainly deserves the scrutiny that its author

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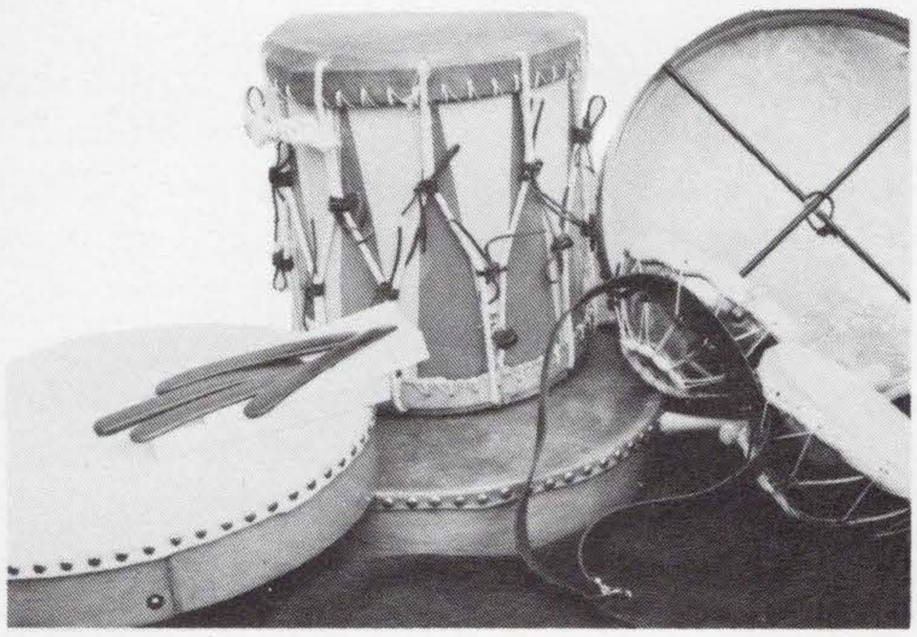

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would no doubt give it if he were still alive. But even this lacks one element of Neumann's 'style'; the stipulation that the note following the dot should be played as quickly as possible. In the slow part of a Lully overture, for example, where the shortest notes are sixteenths, one can exaggerate the dotted effect as Dart recommends without coming anywhere near the limit of possibility in shortening the short notes.

Dolmetsch was similarly sweeping but a great deal less exact. After quoting Quantz (who does say that at least *groups* of short notes after the dot should be played as late as possible), he makes the rather reckless observation that 'we can but feel justified in treating all the old music alike in this respect' and gives a few examples from Bach and Handel. But even here, 'justified in treating' does not mean 'obliged to treat'. Donington is far more careful.[6] 'The great majority of baroque dotted notes occur in the ordinary course of melody and are of the ordinary standard length . . . But when the dotted notes (i) are persistent enough to dominate the rhythm; or (ii) form a distinct rhythmic figure or formula; or more generally (iii) would sound sluggish if taken literally: then it was the convention to crispen them . . . Overdotting itself [is] variable in extent. The lengthening of the dot may vary from the least perceptible to perhaps as much as quadruple dotting.' Later, in connection with the French overture: 'The dots are strongly overdotted . . . the scale passages . . . are left as late as possible . . .' This is pretty explicit, it seems to me, in *excluding* the obligation always to play the short note as late as possible, except perhaps (and here only by analogy with scale passages) in French overtures. Geoffroy-Dechaume quotes Bach, Quantz, and Rellstab, then says, 'Such were the principles and examples which wielded authority in the period of the death of Mozart'. This is the nearest he comes to a generalization about overdotting, though his use of quotations makes it clear that he would apply it to earlier music.

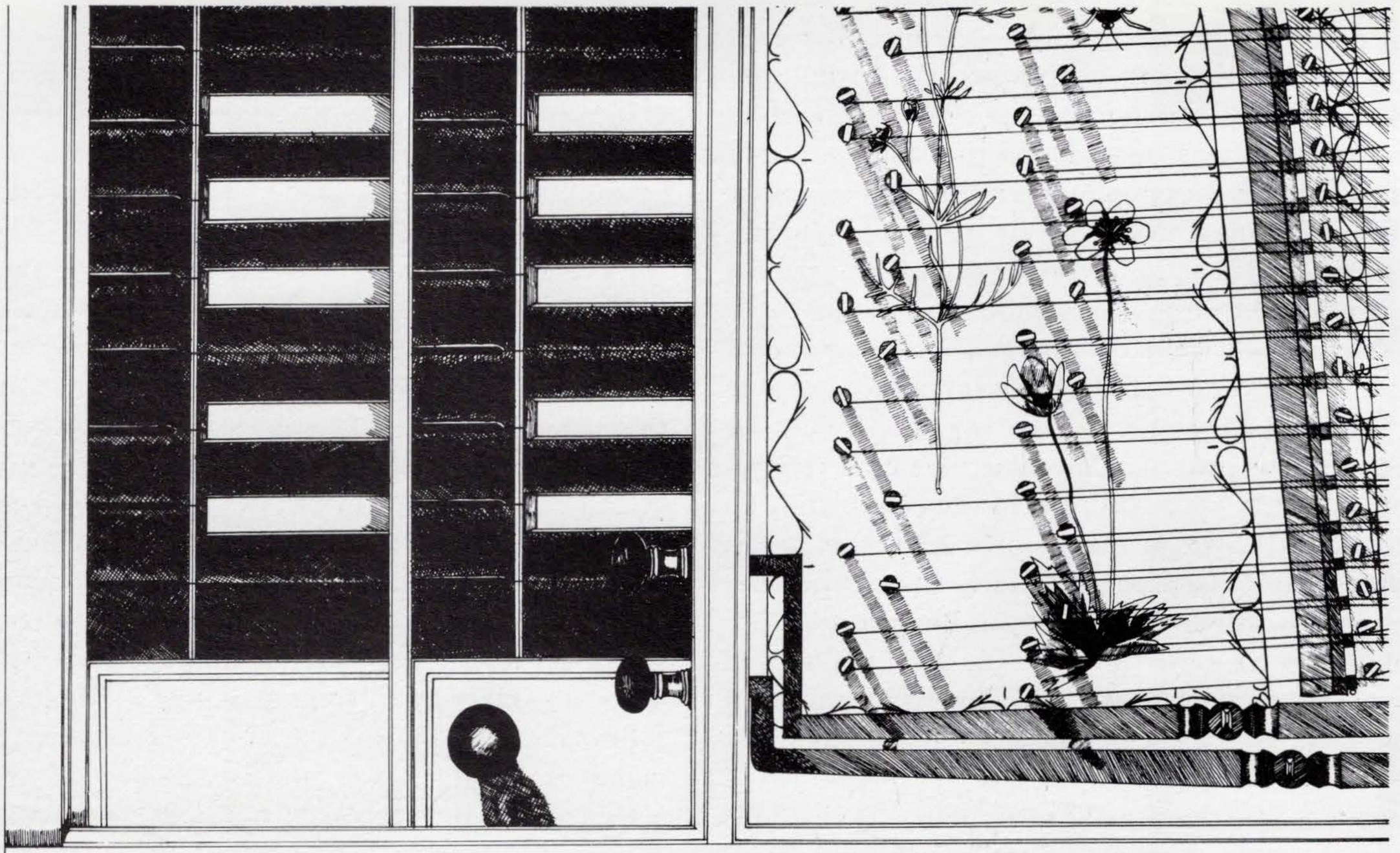
No other writers are cited by Neumann, though many evidently lurk behind indefinite passives: 'it is proclaimed'; 'it is supposed'. 'It is believed that these examples indicate that it was always necessary to synchronize the short notes [he gives some examples from Quantz which indeed do not have anything to do with synchronization—and are not claimed to do so by anyone he cites] . . . Here is the original source of the "jerky style": a modest source which, fed by a generous flood of ink, has grown into a mighty river that threatens to inundate the music of two centuries.'(!) There are, of course, plenty of writers who have cited Quantz and drawn conclusions, warranted and unwarranted. A good example is Erwin Bodky (see note 4): 'There is no doubt that the well-known rule of giving a short note following a dotted one a shorter duration than that indicated by its mathematical value had been unanimously adopted by German composers.' A pretty flat statement, though hardly a 'theory'. But Bodky then goes on to show how often the rule collides with the realities of Bach's scores, and it becomes clear that its application is anything but universal.

The first and one of the very few moderns to articulate overdotting in his own words as a 'rule' was Eugène Borrel: 'In meters where the eighths are unequal, the eighth that follows a dotted quarter is always very short; you must play the dotted quarter like a doubly dotted quarter and the eighth like a sixteenth. Likewise in four-four time a dotted eighth followed by a sixteenth becomes a doubly dotted eighth followed by a thirty-second.' Borrel was referring exclusively to French music, however, and in any case Neumann does not mention him.

If Neumann is vague about the identity of the inundating host, he is equally so about the extent of the threatened destruction. At one point it is 'the music of two centuries', at another, the chief danger seems to be to Bach and Handel, at others, overdotting is all right for the *galant* period but not for the Baroque, at still others it is fine for homophony but injurious to polyphony. Perhaps, since the manner never existed, it does not matter when and where it did not exist. But then he should not call it into being merely for convenience, as he does in order to explain changes of short notes from the original sixteenths to thirty-seconds in Lully scores of the early 18th century. 'We find changes [in an 18th-century performance copy of *Amadis*] . . . exactly the kind of change required by the "style".' This shifting of ground is annoying and tends to throw the reader off his guard.

We have, then, a 'theory' which postulates the existence in the past of a certain specific 'style'. The theory is evidently held by many persons, and it states that the manner affected a large but ill-defined body of music from Lully to some time after the baroque era. No formulation corresponding in all particulars to the author's is, however, cited. The article undertakes to show that the theory is unfounded by refuting all the arguments, known or foreseeable, in its support.

The reader may well perceive an air of unreality about all this, not only because the 'style' or 'theory'



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about it seems to have been expressly constructed for the purposes of the article—set up, as it were, to be shot down—but because formal argument seems to be a poor way to get at something so elusive as the distinction between optional and conventional rhythmic liberties taken by musicians dead two centuries ago. If we assume (as I suspect to be the case) that Neumann does not intend his 'theory' to be taken in quite the absolute terms in which it is formulated, and that what he is really objecting to is the kind of advocacy of overdotting expressed in the quotations which we have given earlier—if, in other words, we grant Neumann the sense, rather than insisting on the letter of his argument, we and he are back where we all started. Having conceded (as he does), that some overdotting and some synchronization took place, he must decide how much is too much, draw a line, and demolish everything on the other side. This he cannot do, of course; no one can, for the obvious reason that art is not mathematics.

If the basic approach of Neumann's article is fallacious (in my logic book the fallacy is one of Neglected Aspect, species Irrelevance, type Extension: 'extending or exaggerating a point to make it easier to attack'), many of the individual arguments are equally so. In two cases, he cites the same authority he has been assailing to demonstrate a point: '[Quantz and Bach] are, nevertheless, considered the principal source of the French style. The question of their authority . . . is then of primary importance.' But their 'primary importance' depends on their being 'considered the principal source' by the nameless horde he has written the whole article to discredit. If they are *not* of primary importance, on the other hand, then a good third of his article comes under the rubric of wasted words. Later he cites Dart as his authority for tracing the use of the double dot back to the beginning of the 17th century with no explanation as to why Dart should be so right here and so wrong elsewhere.

Much more serious are the many arguments from ignorance, where something is said to be not so or its opposite true because no evidence for it can be found. Having concluded that Quantz and Bach do not support the theory of the French manner, Neumann devotes the rest of his paper to a search (which he has earlier assured us will be vain) for any other clues: 'If the convention did exist, it should be possible to find some traces of it either in treatises or in the music itself'. Even if we assume, as we must, that he has done his best to comb the treatises and scores for any evidence in favour of his adversaries, and even if we trust his judgement as to any evidence he may tacitly have rejected, and even if we are convinced by his refutations of the arguments he does discuss, this 'argument from ignorance' is invalid, since it rests on the undemonstrable assumption that 'it should be possible to find some traces'. Common sense, of course, concurs with the assumption, but the rest of the argument depends on the resolute repudiation of common sense. First of all, the 'convention' can only be the imaginary one of the 'theory', since he cites plenty of traces of overdotting. Secondly, not only does the argument depend on Neumann's competence, which even if impeccable can hardly be absolute, but it could be compromised by circumstances beyond his control, such as the unavailability of sources or (one whispers the suggestion) their unmanageable quantity. And of course a good deal of evidence has, in fact, been claimed since the article first appeared, only part of which Neumann has even promised to refute.[7]

The argument from ignorance (or silence, which is the same thing) is used in smaller matters as well. Since Quantz tells us to play groups of thirty-seconds as late as possible in French overtures, but says nothing about sixteenths, this must mean that sixteenths are to be played as written (the substance of this argument has been dealt with by Collins). Since Quantz tells us to overdot the quarters in ¢ and in loures, sarabandes, courantes, and chaconnes, this must mean that quarters are not to be overdotted in overtures (or, presumably, any other form not on the list). Quantz cannot be scolded for his silences but Neumann can: it is really quite disingenuous for him not to have pointed out that elsewhere in his treatise Quantz says that the overture demands a *prächtig und gravitätisch* (splendid and weighty) opening and says that *das Prächtige* is characterized by overdotting.[8]

The most dangerous use of the argument from ignorance occurs when it is applied to notation, because in this case the absence of positive evidence, i.e. double dots, rests, or ties, results in a written indication of the state of affairs which the article sets out to prove: simple dotted rhythm. Since Raison uses double dots, Lully, who does not, is to be played as written. But Lully would only be played as written *if there was not a convention of overdotting*, i.e. if Neumann's conclusion from this evidence is true. This is the fallacy of circular argument, and it afflicts a very great deal of the controversy over baroque performance—on the left as well as right. There are other flaws in the foregoing. Raison 'uses the double dot so systematic-

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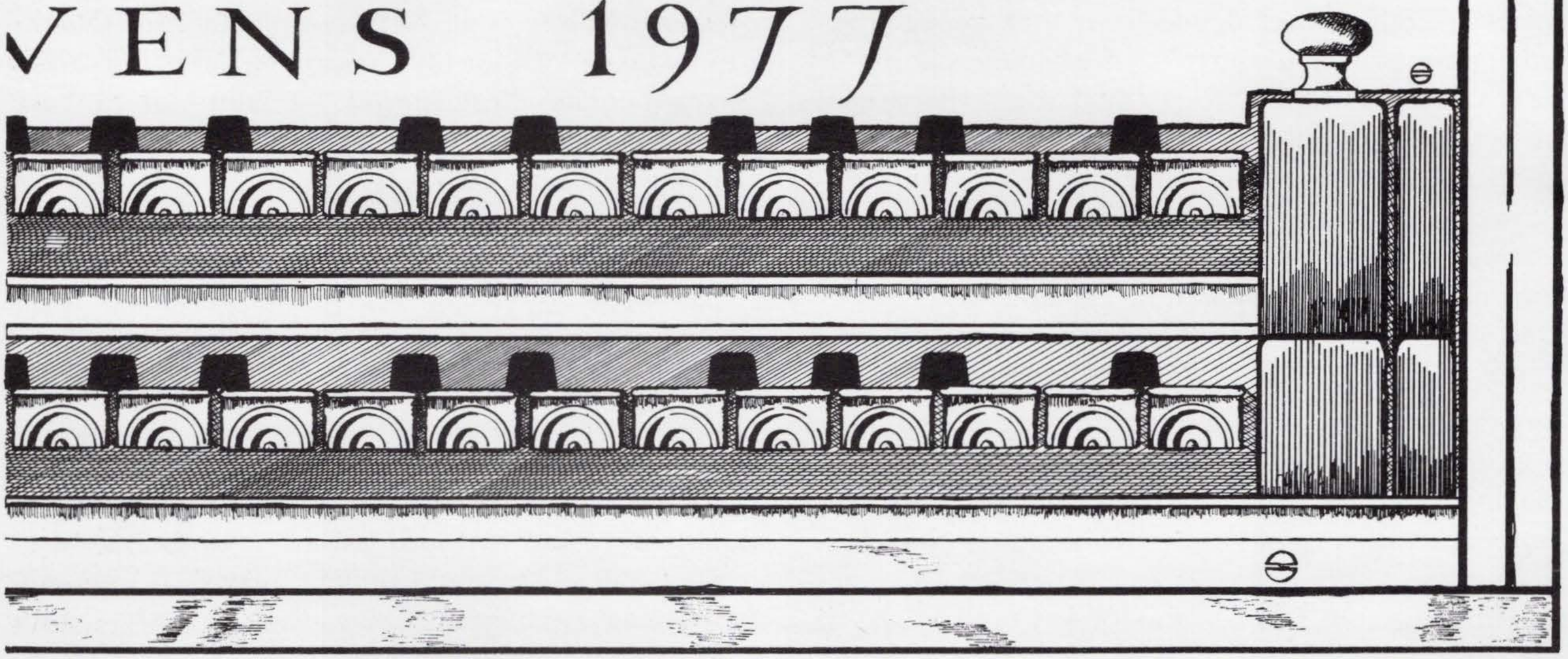

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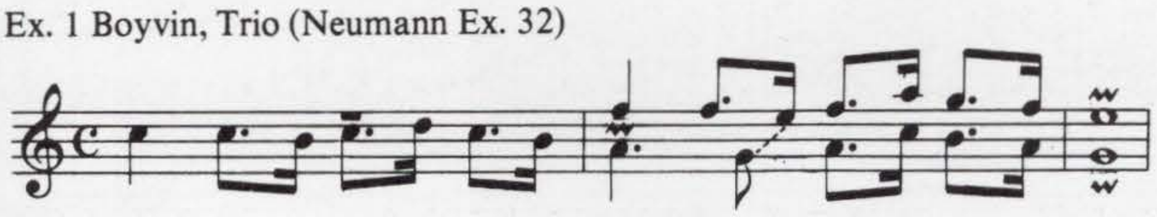
ally, notating the dotted rhythm so precisely in each case . . . that the absence of a second dot must be interpreted literally'. This applies to perhaps three pieces out of the body of Raison's work, which approaches 140 pieces. Fewer than ten per cent have any double dots at all, and in most of these they are sparse. The first *Kyrie* in the sixth tone is not 'in the form of an overture' and the absence of double dots 'demonstrates' nothing. Furthermore, the argument depends on what might be called the 'fallacy of the dizzy leap': how does one get from Raison—an organist about whom almost nothing is known—to Lully?[9]

This is not the only example of the dizzy leap. In the course of his discussion of overdotting, C. P. E. Bach observes that 'occasionally the interplay of the voices requires one to use the notated values' (Neumann's translation). From this, Neumann proceeds to his own exegesis: 'In polyphonic pieces [according to Bach] it is necessary in general to respect the precise duration of the dot . . .' and from here to Bach's 'limitation of overdotting to a homophonic structure'. Overdotting having thus been limited to homophony, it is now only necessary to assert that baroque music is polyphonic to dispose of the 'theory' (earlier arguments that Bach's and Quantz's precepts cannot be applied retroactively are thrown to the winds). 'By contrast, in music that is essentially polyphonic, particularly the music of J. S. Bach [one might disagree that the slow parts of Bach's French overtures are "essentially polyphonic"], a marked change from the notated rhythm would not fail, in most cases, to . . . falsify the counterpoint . . . Therefore, what is desirable for the music of Quantz and his contemporaries, is not appropriate for the music of J. S. Bach, nor for the overtures, chaconnes, etc., of Lully or Rameau.' Another dizzy leap: Lully and Rameau are slyly inserted into the syllogism without explanation or comment. I shall be more direct and equally arbitrary. The chaconnes and first halves of overtures of Lully and Rameau are *not* 'essentially polyphonic' but essentially homophonic (the beginning of the overture to *Alceste*, which Neumann prints in connection with another point, is imitative but exceptional).

Having learned that homophony is polyphony, we should not be surprised to find polyphony boldly asserted to be homophony. A pair of entries by Boyvin is said to be homophonic because of the strict parallelism between answer and countersubject—a parallelism assured by synchronizing the dotted quarter and eighth with the voice above. Synchronization is the 'natural solution' here owing to the 'strictly parallel voices, i.e. homophonic writing'. Circles within circles!

Ex. 1 Boyvin, Trio (Neumann Ex. 32)



The only other lapse of logic that I wish to mention is related to the main one of extension: the insistence upon a false dichotomy between the 'French style' and acceptable overdotting. 'It is important to stress that there is a profound and categorical difference between the freedom to lengthen, shorten, or synchronize *according to musical taste*, and a so-called law that would force us to do one or the other.' Since the 'law' is evidently a fiction and taste can run to extremes, the 'profound and categorical' difference easily dwindles and dissolves into union. But if it does, the entire article becomes a magnificent contradiction of itself.

'Aside from individual freedom [to overdot], there are some cases where prolongation of the dot was actually based on a real and firmly established convention: that of *notes inégales*.' Here, it seems to me, Neumann has given the key to the 'French style'. He quotes Hotteterre (1738) to the effect that the dot after a note is equivalent to a note of the value of the dot for the purposes of inequality, that is, the dot makes a pair with the following note, and the pair being altered to long-short according to the convention of *notes inégales*, the written note following the dot is shortened and the dotted note correspondingly lengthened. Hotteterre is not the only witness to this practice; Neumann might have cited Saint-Lambert and all the writers who give rules for inequality in terms of odd and even groups of eighths (odd groups were understood to begin with the note following a dot, rest, or tied note on the beat which would be lengthened at the expense of the following note). The degree of overdotting evidently depended on the expression and corresponded to the degree of inequality prevailing in the particular passage.

At issue, however, is the question whether or not the dotted figure must be followed or accompanied by several more unequal eighths in order for its own eighth to be, as it were, infected by the inequality of its neighbours and thus shortened. If so, then dotted figures in isolation or in the company of their own kind would not be exaggerated but their eighths played 'straight'. I know of only one statement which bears directly on this question; it is by Saint-Lambert, who says that in pieces where eighths are unequal,

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single eighths are always short.[10] The same rule would presumably apply to other values subject to inequality. One remark does not, however, establish a convention, even if corroborated by several other less explicit ones such as Collins has cited. The decisive argument, it seems to me, is a musical one which cannot, unfortunately, be made convincing in words, but only by a great deal of playing and listening. It is that having got thoroughly used to *notes inégales*, which I am prepared to argue (and have done in my forthcoming article on the subject for *Grove* 6) were far more ubiquitous, more flexible, and less hedged in by rules than Neumann claims (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVIII [1965], 313), one hears 'straight eighths', even in dotted figures, when these occur in a context of inequality, as something of a special effect—certainly usable but not very natural. Having, in other words, steeped oneself in this thoroughly attested, thoroughly documented rhythmic style of inequality, and thus to some small extent having reproduced the experience of a musician of the French Baroque, one finds oneself overdotting quite without thinking. There is an analogous situation in jazz, where inequality permeates the rhythm in certain divisions of the beat. The 'syncopation' of jazz takes its characteristic lilt from the delay of the syncopated note by an amount equivalent to the delay of the second or 'weak' notes of running divisions. It would take a special direction to prevent a player from making this displacement.

Neumann's argument from inequality to overdotting proceeds, however, in precisely the opposite direction from mine: '... the cases where [overdotting arising from inequality] can be applied are not frequent ... inequality is nearly always subtle, often almost imperceptible, and very rarely attains the 3:1 ratio of an actual dotted note'. We do not yet know enough to be so positive as to say 'nearly always ... often almost', but most of the evidence does suggest that *inegalité* was usually gentler than strict dotting, i.e. 3:1 (which, applied to the value of the short notes in a dotted figure, would result in true double dotting). Yet even here one must be cautious. A recently discovered organ tutor from the 1680s which has not yet filtered into the literature describes inequality in the prelude and 'all other pieces generally speaking' thus: 'The first eighth [is] long as if there were a dot ... and the following very short as if it were a sixteenth'. Later, 'The rule for the trio is to dot it well, but this dotting must be done with great fire and boldness ... thus one cannot dot it too much', and 'The duo is played gaily, boldly, and very lightly [i.e. fast] ... it must be extremely dotted'.[11] To say that cases of overdotting owing to inequality are 'not frequent', however, is to mistake the range of circumstances in which inequality might apply. The restrictions with which Neumann surrounds it in the article mentioned above were largely assembled from scattered and unconnected remarks by early writers and do not represent the consensus of any period except, curiously enough, our own. The fact that they have been repeated over and over by both left and right since Borrel first put them together in 1934 does not make them valid.

Neumann does not deal with the problem of written dotting proceeding on the same level of values as even notes where the even notes would be played unequally; that is, dotted eighths and sixteenths where pairs of eighths would be unequal anyway, and corresponding figures where other values would be unequal. Common sense and a few remarks by theorists say that the dotted notes would be played more unequally than the even ones, and there are isolated observations which can be read to mean that dotted figures in such a context were actually overdotted. Collins deals with all of this. The scores, however, raise questions about which theory is silent. There are far too many pieces in which persistent dotting can be read as a cautionary notation of normal, i.e. variable and expressive, inequality for one to be rigid about taking it as written or exaggerating it. These come perhaps more often from England than from France, very likely because codified inequality not being indigenous, a composer who wanted to be sure of getting it had to write it out. Whether or not this was the case, the fact remains that Purcell's scores are full of it, especially among eighths in three-four time, where French usage would have *notes inégales*, and there are many dotted preludes and allemandes in English harpsichord collections.[12] Even François Couperin, however, wrote out whole pieces in dotted sixteenths and thirty-seconds where plain sixteenths could plausibly be taken *pointées* (e.g. *Les guirlandes*, book 4), and he occasionally used dotted eighths and sixteenths to contrast with eighths marked to be played evenly, in such a manner that they can be read either as cautionary *inégales*, or literally, or overdotted (e.g. *Les vieux galans et les trésorieres surannées*, book 3). I should be the last to claim that the present state of our knowledge permits us to do more than keep an open mind about such cases and play the music the way we think it sounds best.

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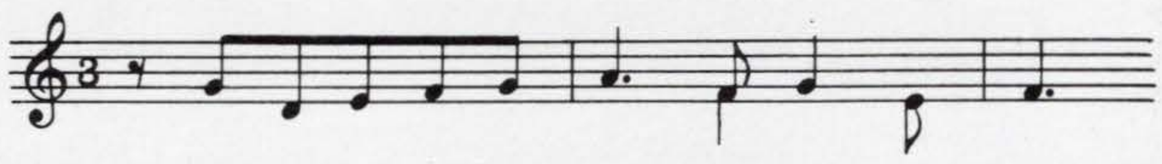
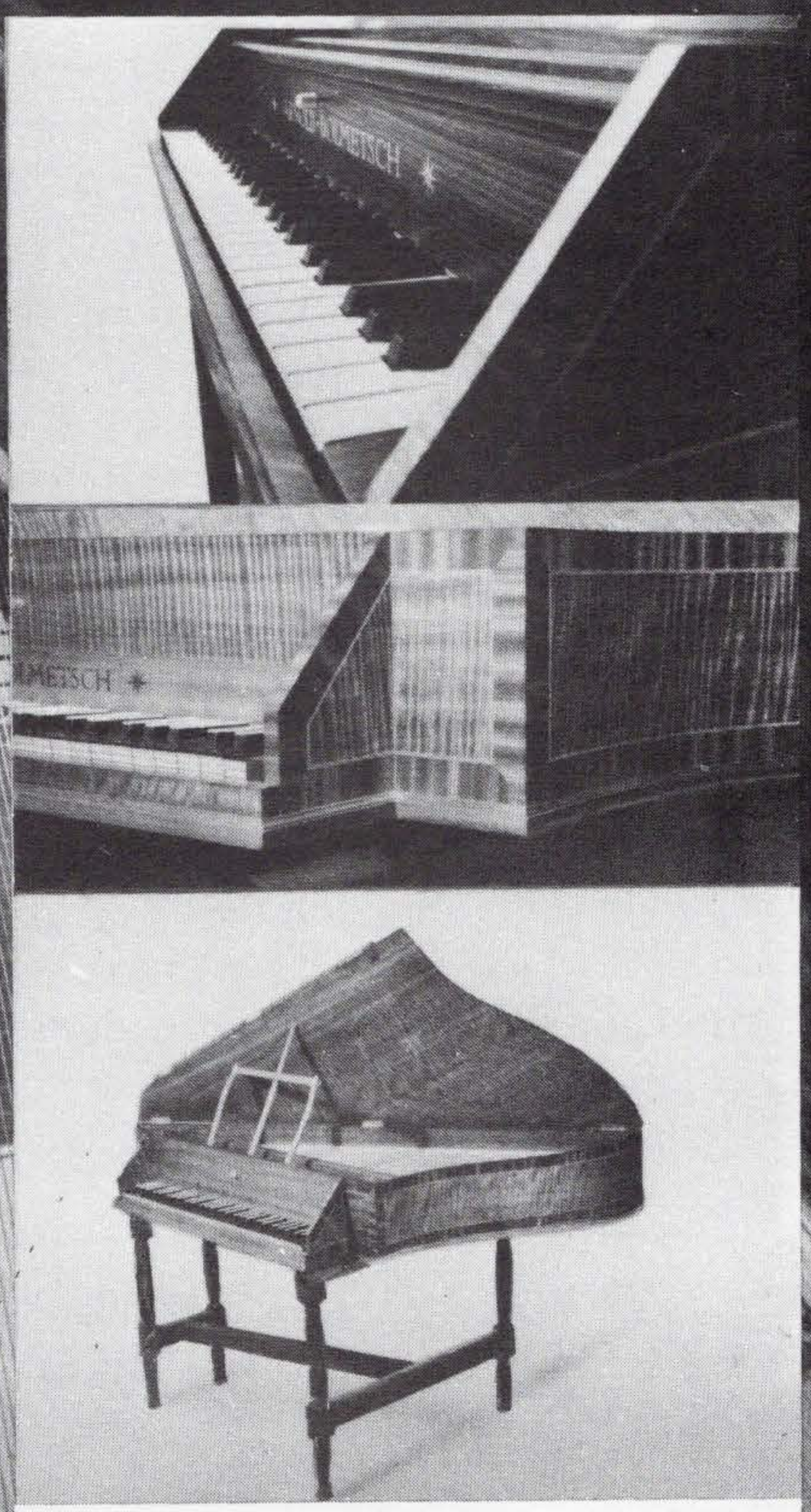
Running through German and occasionally Italian music from the early baroque *concerti* through such widely scattered composers as Biber, Bach (*Contrapunctus* 2 from *The Art of the Fugue*), Marcello, and even up to Beethoven and Schumann (e.g. the middle movement of the *Fantasy*, op. 17) is a thread of persistent dotting which appears to have split off from the phenomenon of inequality in the early 17th-century to take on a distinctive style marked by a relentless nervous energy quite different from the grace of inequality or the splendour of the French overture. This kind of dotting was one of the familiar mannerisms of the *galant* style, and it appears to be the *galant* style, not the French ones, that C. P. E. Bach was talking about when he recommended overdotting.[13] Neumann says as much—though without speculating as to a possible history of the style—denying Bach as a witness to the *manière française*, yet applying Bach's reservations about overdotting to his own denial of the same manner. The interaction and the development of all the dotted styles remain to be studied.

A good many of the arguments in Neumann's article are based on the evidence of scores. Some of these have been remarked upon, but there are others which require comment. The general problem—here as well, alas, as in most writing about performance—is the habit of taking isolated passages not as illustrations but as postulates to be used in demonstrations, leaving it to the reader to discover whether the passage is representative of a large class or *sui generis*. In certain cases, historical background which would aid in evaluating the example is omitted; Lully is a case in point. The first example elicits the familiar argument from silence: 'If . . . Lully writes a tied-over note in the third measure [of a snippet from the overture to *Amadis*], that is equivalent to a double dot, it follows that the dotted notes in the first two measures were not intended to be doubly dotted'. In four more examples from Lully, agreements and disagreements between voices of the orchestral texture are supposed to show that Lully did not want synchronization of dissimilar dotted figures unless he wrote it in. Again the circular argument: only if there was not a convention of synchronization would the examples prove that there was not—if there were one, it would not matter how they were notated. But the real objection to all these examples is that they fail to take into account the possibility that Lully may not have been responsible for or even cared very much about the details of his scores (his famous precision would in any case have had to be achieved in rehearsal). To base arguments on the absence of notational complexities in his inner parts entails assumptions which conflict with reports about his method of work. Lully 'would sit down at his harpsichord, sing and re-sing the words, bang on his harpsichord, and make a continuo part. When he had finished his song, he would so print it in his mind that he would not mistake a note. Lalouette or Colasse (his secretaries) would come and he would dictate it to them. The next day he hardly remembered a thing. He did the same with the orchestral accompaniments, and on days when Quinault had not given him anything, it was on the orchestral pieces [airs de violon] that he worked'.[14] This is far from clear as regards inner orchestral parts, but it is enough to cast a shadow over arguments based on the odd sixteenth note in published scores.

A second passage from the *Amadis* overture 'demonstrates that synchronization in the third and fourth quarters could not have been the intention of the composer, that the "jerky" style had no place there, and finally, that the intended aim was precisely a conflict of rhythm, a "rhythmic counterpoint" . . .' The fast part of this overture bristles with 'rhythmic counterpoint' of the same sort which would sound simply chaotic if played as written. But the next example is 'capable of proving' the intention of rhythmic conflict. A sarabande by Louis Couperin is cited as an example of notation which is 'only intelligible if the eighth after the dot enters exactly in rhythm'.

Ex. 2 L. Couperin, *Sarabande* (Neumann Ex. 26)

What, pray, is to prevent the double-stemmed F from being delayed to carry out the inequality established in the first measure? The keyboard notation of the period was intensely practical, and this example shows only that the composer (or copyist—there is no autograph of this piece and no early edition) wanted the F to be held against the G to form a suspension. It illustrates very well, however, a situation where inequality (the first measure is a school-book example of unequal eighths) suggests overdotting.

The next example is an excellent one of a place where synchronization would make no sense, as Neumann points out, but for a different reason than he gives: it would conflict with one of the basic rules of inequality, that eighths are equal in C. The ornament in the alto would also discourage synchronization. The bass is irrelevant. But both dotted eighths could be



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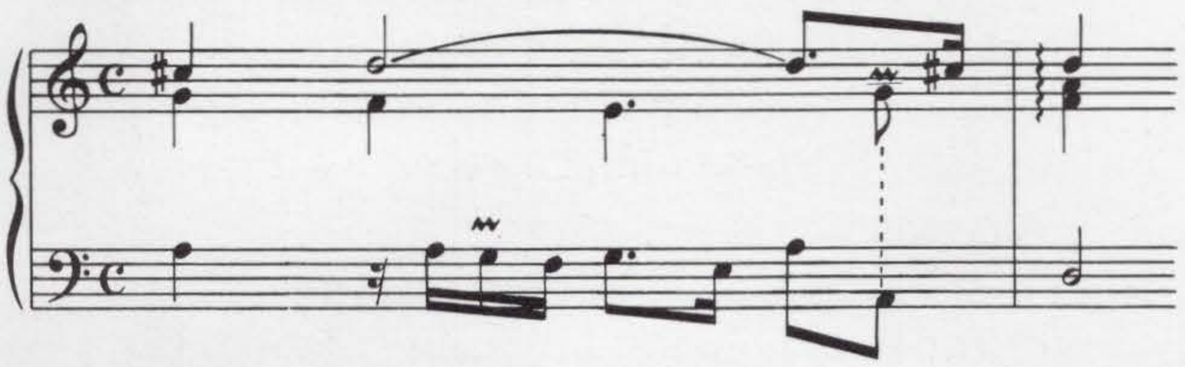
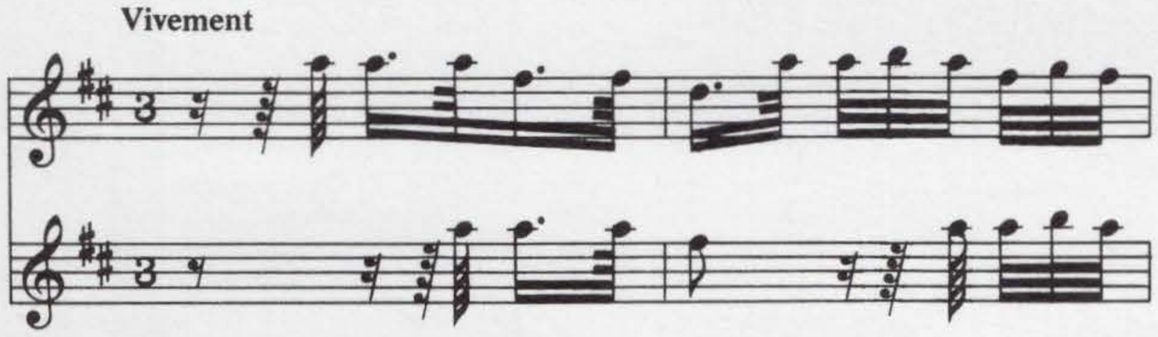
overdotted to conform with the sixteenths, if the latter were taken unequally.

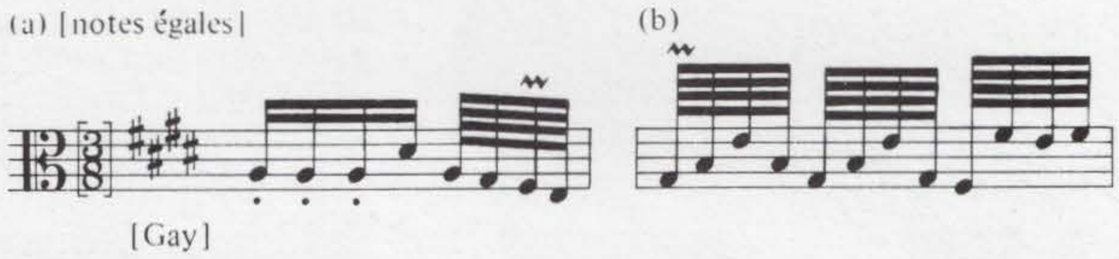
Ex. 3 Le Bègue, *Allemande* (Neumann Ex. 27)

Examples 29, 30, and 31 of Neumann's article are supposed to 'confirm the supposition that the "French style" did not exist in the form stated by its advocates'. All show inconsistencies between even and dotted eighths. The trouble with these is the same as with all the rest, as well as with the uncounted thousands yet to be gleaned from baroque scores: if they are not the result of carelessness, they are two-edged in their implications. They are worth collecting because one never knows when a pattern will emerge or a document surface to make sense of them. But meanwhile, though interesting, they prove nothing.

Neumann discusses at considerable length François Couperin's striking and expressive notation with too many beams or flags. He begins with the following example from Donington's *Interpretation*,

Ex. 4 F. Couperin, *L'Apothéose de Corelli* (Neumann Ex. 33)

of which Donington says, 'The reason for the extra tail is that without it the dotted notes, so far from being "double-dotted", might have been reduced to triplet rhythm . . .' Unless I misread him, Donington takes the notation (in this example, at least) as cautionary—to *prevent* the player from assimilating the dotted figures to the triplets, not as a positive indication to double-dot. Neumann thinks differently: 'As proof of double-dotting Donington cites [the example], where Couperin is supposed to have used the dot to represent a double dot.' Having thus revised Donington to suit his rebuttal, he proceeds to demolish him with three half-truths having virtually nothing to do with Donington's claim. Later he takes up Donington's explanation as if it were his own: perhaps Couperin used such notation 'in order to persuade performers at first sight not to yield to natural inertia . . .'.

In fact, the whole question of multiple beaming in Couperin deserves much more attention than it has received.[15] There are hundreds of examples throughout his works, and the dense blackness—to say nothing of the mathematical irrationality—of four, five, or even six beams where two or three belong is the most striking visual feature of his music, more so, even than the forests of ornaments. They strongly suggest speed; even Neumann concedes this. For so cool a head as Couperin's to have wasted all that ink on a notation that does not mean what it causes a player seeing it automatically to do would seem sheer perversity to my square, Yankee mind. But there are problems. In the very same piece from which Neumann drew one of his examples there are two places which seem hostile to the apparent meaning of multiple beams:

Ex. 5 F. Couperin, *Pièces de violes*, Passacaille ou chaconne



In a), even if *notes inégales* were not explicitly demanded, the fourth sixteenth would hardly be prolonged since it is weak; the 'sixty-fourths' must therefore be played as thirty-seconds. Furthermore, the trill would probably force still greater length on the third one. Curious that Neumann did not cite these passages, which appear to support his views.[16] My suspicion (unsupported by research) is that multiple beams represented some kind of confused archaism in notation similar to *croches blanches* (whitened eighths), and that there was no consensus on their execution.

If we were to grant that Neumann had truly and decisively refuted each argument for the 'French style'—taken literally or as I suspect he really means it: as 'too much' overdotting, and if it were reasonable to suppose that no other evidence could be adduced, then he would have proved not that the style did not exist but that we must remain forever ignorant whether it did or not. Put schematically, Neumann's argument runs something like this: M says that A is true because of B. B is false, therefore M is wrong. The missing link in the syllogism is the one between M and A: A belongs to the past and couldn't care less whether M believes in him. This is the fallacy of trying to disprove the past by attacking history.

Neumann hints obliquely at a positive alternative to the style; 'majestic dignity' is the closest he comes to naming it. If this alternative could be described and if it were true, then it would be the rock upon which all

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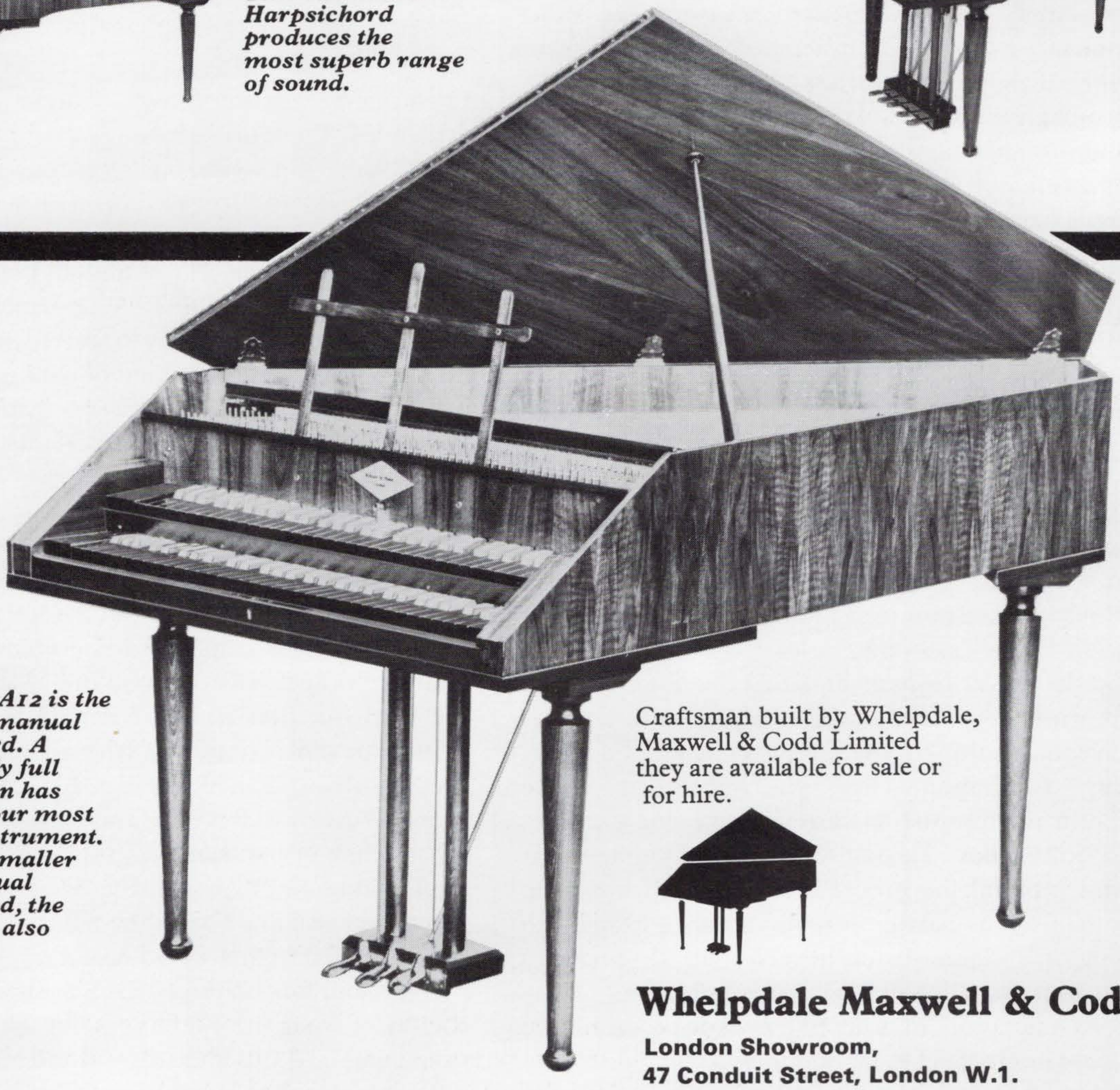

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arguments for the style would shatter. Neumann's case would be very strong indeed and we should have, in the name of authenticity, to conform. In technical terms, the alternative would be a norm of adherence to the written values with a certain degree of overdotting and synchronization applied in the right places. It would be unfair to pretend that this alternative is not implied, but the thrust of Neumann's argument being always in the negative direction, his attitude towards overdotting seems in the end rather to resemble that of St Paul towards other matters: a little is better than too much, but none is best.

Although the specific reference is to *notes inégales* rather than to overdotting, some reflections set down forty years ago by Charles van den Borren convey eloquently and in a positive sense feelings about early music at which Neumann only hints in his peroration, but which cannot be far from those from which his article took its impulse. The gentle arrogance with which Van den Borren imputes his own artistic values and musical tastes to a figure so remote as Lully (whose doubtful tastes in life he would hardly have shared) is a perennial force in the history of musical reform. With Van den Borren, the force was of mild reaction; with Neumann, times having changed as they have, it is one of full-blown counter-reformation. I quote Van den Borren's remarks *in extenso* because they supply what is in a sense Neumann's missing alternative, and because they do it with the authority of one of the great names of musicology and in terms which large numbers of musicians and music lovers must find sympathetic.

When I read a score by Lully like that of *Alceste* . . . and when I confront it with the 'observations' of Georg Muffat 'on the manner of playing dances in the French style according to the method of the late Monsieur de Lully', I am literally overwhelmed at the thought that anyone could reconcile the finicky refinements that Muffat enumerates with the style, so simple, so sober, and so genuinely inspired by the *grand siècle*, which Lully offers us throughout his work. What is to be done? What should be retained from these precepts? When, in particular, ought one to resort to that deformity, devoid of logic, which consists in the unequal performance of equal eighth notes except where the composer has expressly indicated that they should be played as written? I must confess that each time I am tempted to apply the prescriptions reported by Muffat, I come up against insurmountable difficulties, only to arrive more often than not at a result which cannot be compared from the point of view of beauty with that produced by a reading of the musical text as it stands, with the possible addition of some traditional ornaments which almost play themselves. What shall we conclude from this, if it is not that Muffat attributed to Lully the methods of certain professional musicians of his time, mired in a more or less pedantic tradition which gladly sacrificed the grand line to cosmetic details of secondary importance? It is clear, to be sure, that the author of *Alceste* in no way disdained—quite the contrary—a certain precision in execution and a certain grace of phrasing, of which the 'mannerisms' recalled by Muffat were, in the end, probably only formulas moulded to shapes and terms having the quality of caricature. One must remember, of course, that the performance of a given period is often linked to temporary fashions which approach distortion and against which the great masters have always risen up, not without vehemence. What is eternally alive and fresh in Lully's music is not these fleeting trivialities but its vigorous synthesis of a time and a place whose grandeur and sense of beauty it expresses to perfection. It is thus the whole physiognomy of the era, the image of the Sun-King and the court of Versailles which one must keep before one's eyes when one performs or listens to the works—infinitely more varied than one ordinarily thinks—of the founder of French opera.[17]

I should like to be able to close this article with a set of rules for the practical musician interested in the authentic rendition of dotted figures in baroque music, but it should be evident by now how impossible that would be. The best that can be done here is to separate a very complicated problem into its components as they now exist so that the reader, dazzled by the forensic virtuosity of Neumann's simplistic, generalizing approach, can clear his vision and make his own judgements from the scores and from what he reads.

It seems to me that the letter of Neumann's conclusion is so far beyond dispute as to require no defence at all: there was no single comprehensive 'style' of extreme overdotting—if, indeed, anyone has ever claimed that there was. Instead, there were three conventions, very probably unrelated, which can be documented sufficiently well at present to demand the consideration of performing musicians, if not their obedience. The first, and the one most explicitly described by the theorists, applies to music in the *galant* style. The second can be inferred from the massively documented convention of *notes inégales*: as explained above, wherever inequality goes there also goes overdotting. Inequality grew out of the practice of diminution, penetrating the style of composed music along with the figurations born of that practice; this is why inequality is always described with reference to metre and the beat. It is a practical reflection of

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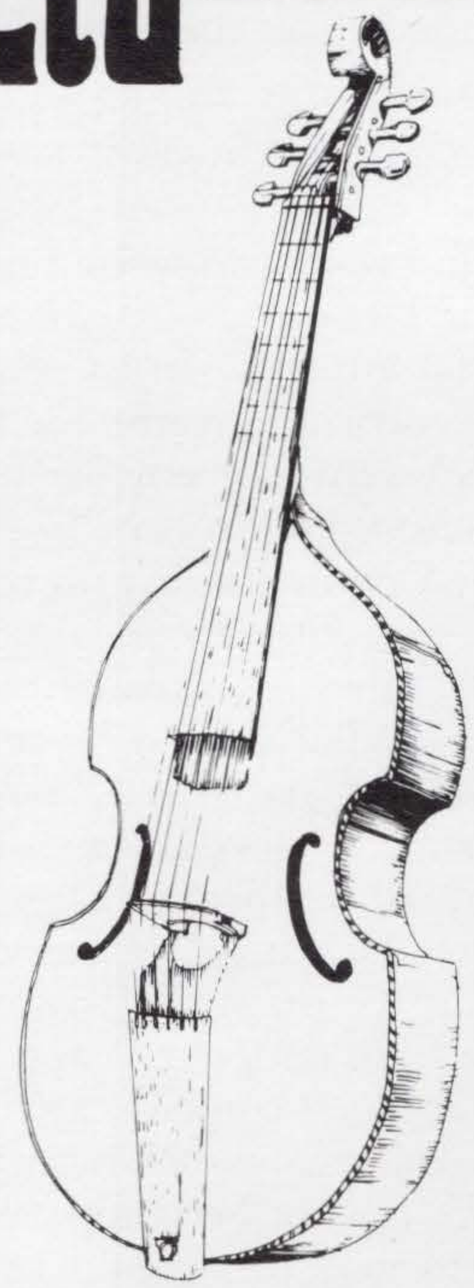

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the ubiquitous theoretical doctrine of 'good' and 'bad' notes, although far narrower in scope. Its boundaries cannot, however, be drawn in firm lines because the French brand fades off in one direction into the subtle adjustment of values which which any musician often clarifies the beat and in the other, into notated inequality, which is found everywhere. The third convention is one of special cases: marches, French gigues and canaries,[18] and of course the slow parts of French overtures; these form a group not because of any theoretical link but because they are occasionally mentioned by name as candidates for overdotting.

In none of these three conventions is it a question of 'obligation' or strict double-dotting, but rather of a generalized, often variable sharpening of the dotted rhythm—in practical terms, 'more often than not, and clear to the ear'. Their expressive effect can be quite different. In the first, overdotting points up or exaggerates the already intricate rhythms. In the second, it simply carries out the general or potential inequality and partakes of its expression—languid, graceful, or vigorous—and this even when the dotted figures are unaccompanied by a series of unequal notes. In the third, the effect is of the greatest possible energy, vivacity, or splendour. The case of the French overture is by far the most complex and difficult to deal with. Few styles can have been so widely imitated over such a long period, and as with any genre that travels over great distances, mutations occur which can alter its identity beyond recognition or bring it into contact with other genres. A familiar puzzle is the first part of the *Sinfonia* to Bach's Second Harpsichord Partita in C minor—clearly something other than an overture to Bach since each partita begins with a different type of piece and the overture is elsewhere, yet with heavy dotted rhythms suggesting an analogous execution. Handel's 7th Suite begins with an overture, so labelled, but the prelude and largo of the sixth are also dominated by overture-like dotting.[19] The American virtuoso, Anthony Newman, overdots and synchronizes the rhythms of Bach's great Organ Prelude in B minor in a fashion that seems to me to subvert its real character, which is that of a florid cantilena; clearly he sees the dots and thirty-seconds as hinting at the French overture, even though the metre is $\frac{6}{8}$.[20]

A further source of confusion in the overture is the fact that by no means all the rhythms to be exaggerated are actually dotted; they are often notated with ties or rests, or they may be written in equal values which are to be sharply 'inequalized' (*inégaliser* is an 18th-century term).[21] Neumann raises a spurious objection with regard to the operation of inequality upon dotting in Handel overtures, of which the slow sections are, he says, uniformly in C, and therefore exclude any alterations to the eighth notes arising from inequality. But even if overdotting in overtures were a by-product of inequality, which I doubt, the notation of overtures is too variable and inconsistent to be interpreted according to any theory. The French themselves vacillated between ¢, 2, and C, sometimes very likely with implications for tempo, sometimes evidently not; ¢ was beaten sometimes in two, sometimes in four. They also were known sometimes to break their own rules, inequalizing eighths in C where the expression demanded, or executing theoretically unequal notes as written.[22] Finally, the interaction of *tirades* (scale-wise flourishes) with simpler dotted figures always requires some arbitrary adjustment by the player which must be worked out for each case.

The answer to French overture performance is not to be sought in the details of notation but in the unanimous references to their splendour, energy, and fire; whatever the player does with rhythm must enhance those qualities. It should be observed that the vigour of dotted rhythms is as much a function of articulation—particularly the sharpness with which the short note is delivered—as it is of the proportion of values. If the short note is delayed so much that there is not time to make it speak properly, the effect will be flabby and neurotic rather than energetic.

Confronted with continuous dotting in baroque music in styles clearly unrelated to the overture, the player is on his own. In music of a French cast, he should suspect written-out *notes inégales*—formal license to overdot, though perhaps more often to underdot, in accordance with what he conceives to be the expression. If the character, form, or function of the piece suggest a jig (not the Lullian type), even if there are no triplets, the intention may be that the rhythm should be underdotted to give the effect of $\frac{6}{8}$ or $\frac{12}{8}$ metre.[23] In flagellation pieces the dotting should be as savage as possible. Where dotting is combined with triplets—simultaneously or alternately—one is usually safe in assimilating the dotted rhythm to the triplets; but with Bach, one should bear in mind Agricola's report that Bach taught his pupils to play the rhythms as written.[24] Above all, we must remember that far from being the homogeneous emanation of a *Zeitgeist*, baroque musicians were once alive—they quarrelled, changed their minds, and made mistakes; and if authenticity means playing the way they did, then no one solution can be the right one.[25]

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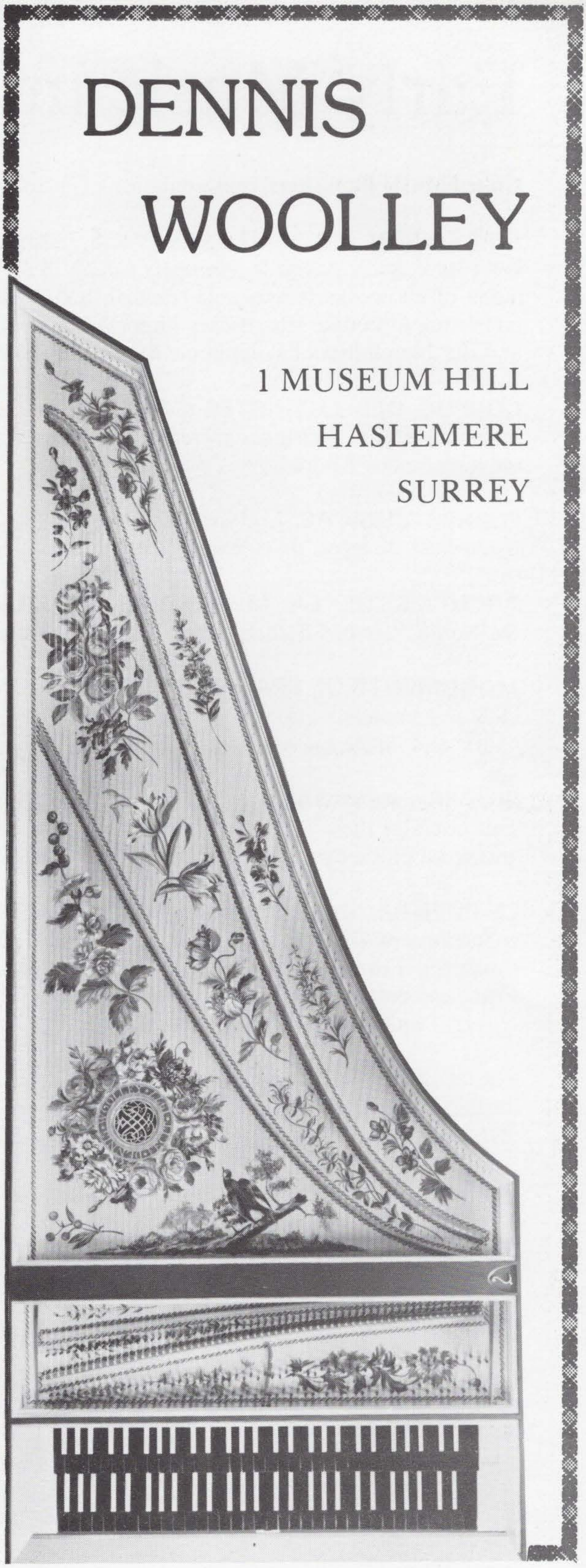
Afterword

I have just received my copy of *The Musical Quarterly* for April 1977, with Professor Neumann's new article, 'Facts and Fiction about Overdotting'. Although the purpose is to 'reaffirm and strengthen' his earlier findings, the author happily abandons much of the formalism of the 1965 article (without, however, repudiating it) and devotes considerable space to discussing occasional overdotting and synchronization (without, however, suggesting that it might modify his previous stand). Nevertheless, the reasoning runs along familiar lines and stumbles over fallacies which are similar enough to the earlier ones to enable my own article—which, as the reader will have perceived, is concerned more with the ethics of argument than with dotting—to be used unaltered as a *vade mecum* for both of Professor Neumann's. What I find most infuriating about this as well as the preceding article is the author's willingness to take advantage of his readers by remaining silent about factors which would weaken his argument but which he knows can only be adduced by the rare individual who has read all the sources or will face the tedium of checking through them. One example will have to do. On p. 158, he says that 'every single one of the numerous [French] treatises of the 17th and 18th centuries that mentions the dot describes it unfailingly as signifying one-half of the preceding note's value'. He then goes on, 'Not one mentions in this connection—the obvious place to refer to exceptions—*any* kind of lengthening.' Obvious, yes; but to his reader, not to the authors of the treatises, who, as Neumann knows perfectly well (having read every single one!), nearly always discuss such exceptions, i.e. rhythmic alteration, under the heading of *mesure* (metre), *mouvement*, or something similar, in quite a different section of the treatise from the basics of notation. But the next sentence invites the reader to conclude that the statements about the theoretical value of the dot can be directly contrasted with those prescribing the alteration of even eighths, and that the treatises must therefore be read to imply that dotted figures were meant to be played as written. Most of what the treatises do say about overdotting (and it isn't much) is included with the discussions of inequality (since that is what usually generates it): on this he is again silent, since it would weaken his 'proof'. In general, the new article adopts the policy of its author's other writings, which is never to admit doubt, never to concede to an opponent, and above all, never to mention evidence that might invalidate the desired conclusions except to refute it.



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These are the tactics of the courtroom, and they cannot be countered by the gentle humanism of traditional musicology, but require the harsher approach of direct criticism.

The yacht *Gemini*, 20 June 1977

[1] M. Collins, 'A Reconsideration of French Overdotting', *Music and Letters*, L (1969), p. 111; F. Neumann, 'French Over-Dotting', *ibid.*, p. 430. See also Neumann, 'The Question of Rhythm in the Two Versions of Bach's French Overture, BWV 831', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music* in Honor of Arthur Mendel, ed. R. Marshall (Cassel, 1974), p. 183. Graham Pont, in a persuasive and copiously documented, though to my knowledge not yet published article entitled 'Rhythmic Alteration and the French Overture Style', has answered both Neumann and Collins, arriving at some of the same conclusions about the former as I have, though independently and in general by different avenues.

[2] The quarrel was unleashed with an article by Neumann which appeared in *The Musical Quarterly* in 1965, the same year as the French version of the dotting article.

[3] E. Borrel, 'Contribution à l'interprétation de la musique française du XVIIIe siècle', *La tribune de Saint-Gervais,* XVIII (1912), p. 267, R/Paris, 1914; A. Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1915, 2/1944 R/1969); J. Arger, *Les agréments et le rythme* (Paris, n.d.; preface dated 1917); Robert Donington's writings extend from his articles for the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary* to the present; R. T. Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London, 1954); A. Geoffroy-Dechaume, *Les 'secrets' de la musique ancienne* (Paris, 1964, but complete in 1959); Sol Babitz became one of the first post-war exegetes of Quantz with his 'A Problem of Rhythm in Baroque Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1952), p. 533, which he followed with a number of other articles; Collins has published a major study of triplets and answered Neumann on inequality and the French trill as well as dotting.

[4] Of these, some of the main ones are G. Horn, 'La note pointée dans les oeuvres pour clavecin de Jean-Sébastien Bach, *Revue de musicologie*, XIX (1935), p. 27; E. Harich-Schneider, *Die Kunst* des *Cembalo-Spiels* (Cassel, 1939); C. Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (New York, 1953); Newman Powell, *Rhythmic Freedom in the Performance of French Music from 1650 to 1735* (Stanford Univ. diss., 1958); E. Bodky, *The Interpretation of Bach's Keyboard Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (London, 1965); E. Jacobi, 'Punktierte Rhythmus', *Riemann's Musik Lexikon* (Mainz, 1967). A 'mini-*querelle*' on the assimilation of dotted rhythm to triplets between Harich-Schneider and Jacobi took place in the pages of *Die Musikforschung* and the *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 1959-62. Important observations are also to be found in the prefaces and critical notes to scholarly editions.

[5] *Interpretation*, p. 81

[6] The quotations here are from the first edition of Donington's *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London, 1963), since that must have been what Neumann worked from.

[7] The following are some of the more impressive clues not dealt with by Neumann in his 1965 article: changes in the notation of Bach's *French Overture* between the C minor and B minor versions (Neumann devotes most of his article in the Mendel *Festschrift* [note 1] to refuting Collins's citation of this work); Collins also cites B. de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1668; Engl. transl. A. B. Caswell, 1968), p. 232 of original. Neumann, 'French Over-Dotting' (see note 1), says Collins misinterprets Bacilly. Though Collins's translation is faulty, his interpretation is perfectly justifiable: Bacilly explains the habit of writing unequal notes in equal values by the need to avoid the danger of execution 'par *sacades*, ie veux dire par sautillemens', to which dots might tempt one. Further persuasive citations by Collins include Mattheson, *Kern melodischen Wissenschaft* . . . (1737), pp. 47 and 114; J. F. Agricola,

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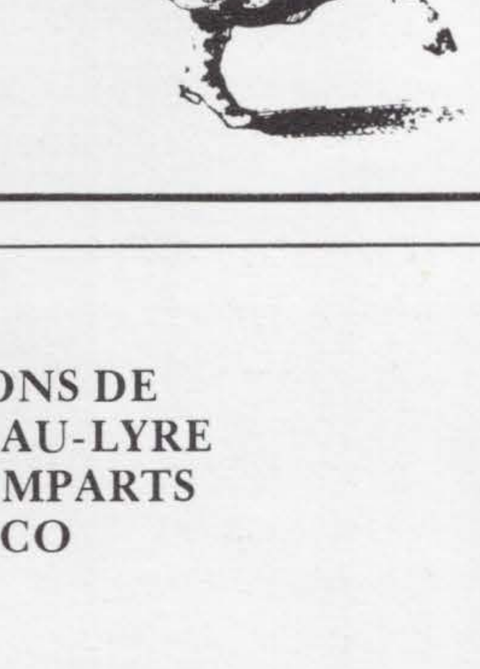

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Anleitung zur Singekunst (1757), p. 133; J. A. P. Schultz, art. 'Ouverture' in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1775); G. F. Wolff, *Unterricht in der Singekunst* (1784), p. 41; D. G. Türk, *Klavierschule* (1789), p. 361; J. C. F. Rellstab, *Anleitung für Clavierspieler* (1790), introduction; and J. G. Tromlitz, *Unterricht die Flöte zu spielen* (1791), p. 171. Borrel, in *L'interpretation de la musique française de Lully à la Révolution* (1934), p. 158, cites C. R. Brijon, *Réflexions sur la musique et la vraie manière de l'exécuter sur le violon* (1763; R/1972), who describes what can only be overdotting in terms of bowing and says: 'On préfère cette manière dans les symphonies faites en ouverture, parce qu'elles sont dans un mouvement marqué, ainsi que dans les parties et morceaux tirés des opéras'. Pont (see note 1) gives extensive documentation for a tradition of overdotting in Handel's *Messiah* overture and other pieces. See H. W. Shaw, *A Textual and Historical Companion to Handel's Messiah* (London, 1965). Pont also cites the witness of Roger North to what would seem to be double-dotting in Lully overtures: *Roger North on Music*, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), pp. 185 and 350.

[8] *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Facs. of 3rd ed., Berlin, 1789, ed. H.-P. Schmitz, *Documenta Musicologica* II (Cassel, 1953), xviii, §42, pp. 300-301, and xii, §§24-26, pp. 116-117. See also v, §21, pp. 58-59 and examples for an explanation of just what Quantz means by overdotting.

[9] On paper, the opening of the *Kyrie* resembles the Lully overture style, but it is a *grand plein-jeu*, meant according to Raison himself (preface to *Second livre d'orgue* [Paris, 1714]) to be played *fort lentement* with the chords connected in a strict legato. Furthermore, the piece is too long, it ends in the tonic, and the *basse de trompette* that follows cannot be twisted into a *reprise*.

[10] M. de Saint-Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin* (Paris, 1702), p. 26: 'Si le nombre en est impair, la premiére . . . est bréve, la seconde longue, la troisiéme bréve, la quatriéme longue, la cinquiéme bréve, &c. jusqu'au bout. Une croche seule est toûjours bréve . . .' A 'single eighth' in this context would have been an initial upbeat or one preceded by an eighth rest or a dotted quarter followed by a quarter or larger value.

[11] W. Pruitt, 'Un traité d'interpretation du XVIIe siècle', *L'orgue*, no. 152 (Oct.-Dec., 1974), p. 99.

[12] Boyden (see note 4), p. 295, cites the anonymous *Rules for Gracing on the Flute* (*c*1700): 'Where there is a Prickt Crotchet quaver & Crotchet stay long upon ye Prickt Crotchet'. As is so often the case with such remarks in instruction books, this can be taken either as a direction to overdot or as an explanation of normal dotting.

[13] By '*galant* style' I mean the fussy rhythmic style initiated by Italian violin and keyboard composers in the second quarter of the 18th century and taken over mainly by Germans in the third quarter. This is a loose use of the term, since I doubt that the most outspoken advocate of overdotting, C. P. E. Bach, would have described his more serious keyboard sonatas as *galant*, and there is plenty of *galant* music with smoother rhythm. Still no better term presents itself. See D. Sheldon, 'The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated', *Acta musicologica*, XLVII (1975), p. 240.

[14] J. L. Le Cerf de la Viéville de Fréneuse, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, in P. Bonnet and P. Bourdelot, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets*, III (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 198.

[15] Dart presents an undeveloped hypothesis of Couperin's rationale in 'Quelques précisions sur la notation des pièces de clavecin de François Couperin, *L'interprétation de la musique française des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, ed. E. Weber (Paris, 1974), p. 213.

[16] Christophe Moyreau (d. *c*1772) used one too many beams throughout a bar, as in b, in *Le Pégase, Pièces de clavecin*, op. 4 (Paris, 1753). In these cases it is virtually impossible that the extra beam should indicate greater speed.

[17] C. Van den Borren, 'De quelques principes pour l'interprétation de la musique ancienne', *Musica viva*, no. 1 (Brussels, April 1936), p. 53.

[18] That is, with ternary groups of dotted eighth, sixteenth, and eighth.

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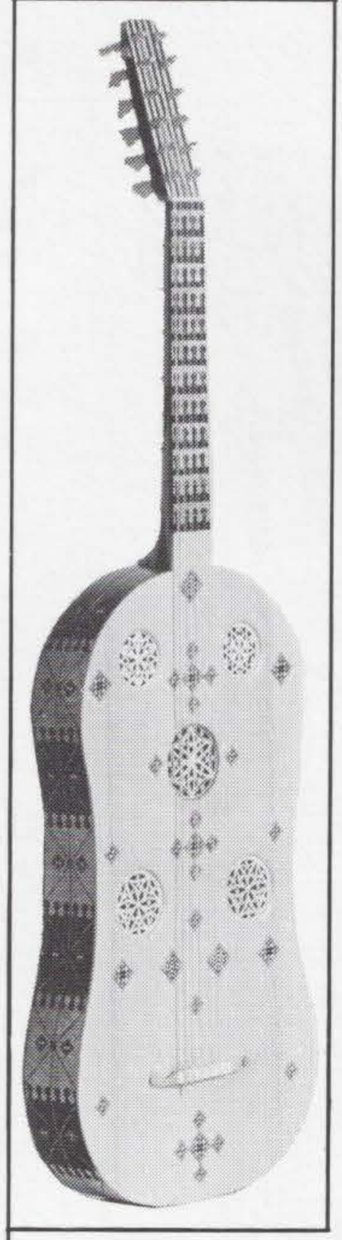

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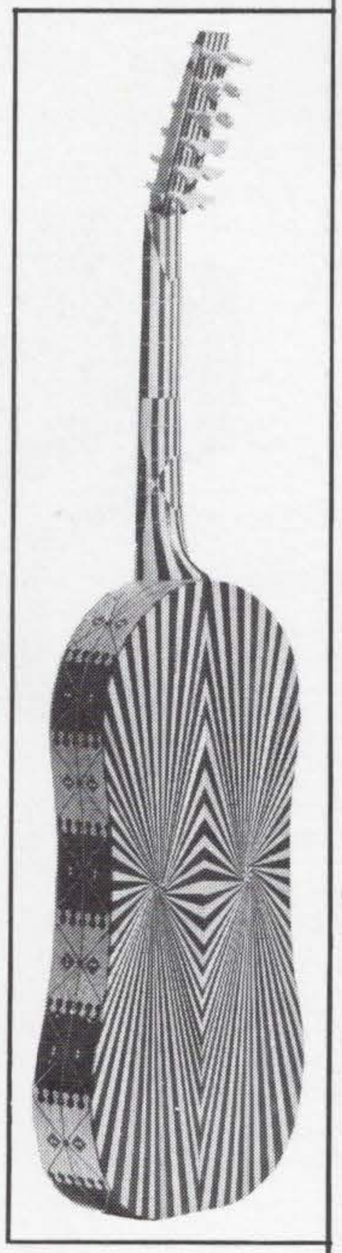

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[19] More in the vein of the Sinfonia to Bach's 2nd Partita are introductions like that to Mozart's Fantasia, K. 608, and Beethoven's *Pathétique*, yet it is a rare player who does not slightly overdot them. I am bound to point out, however, that the only example known to me of such an introductory movement on an 18th-century barrel organ, the first movement of Handel's Organ Concerto, op. 4, no. 2 in B♭, is not overdotted, even though the exuberant ornamentation as well as extensive rhythmic alteration in the last movement indicates that if the pinner had wanted overdotting he could have achieved it. For more on this instrument, see my 'Mechanical Musical Instruments as a Source for the Study of *Notes Inégales*', *Musical Box Society (International)*, XX (1974), p. 281.

[20] Ternary metres are not unknown in the slow parts of genuine French overtures.

[21] Such a piece, it seems to me, is the offertory from Couperin's organ mass for parishes, whose opening *grand jeu* is written in even eighths but is now being played more and more in sharply dotted ones, to its great enhancement. Such, also, are overtures moving mainly in eighths like those of Dieupart (1701) and some by Lully.

[22] Démoz de La Salle, *Méthode de musique selon un nouveau systême* (Paris, 1728), p. 166, discusses such liberties in vocal music.

[23] The overture to Handel's 7th Suite offers a possible example of underdotting in its reprise, which is written entirely in dotted eighths and sixteenths and may be meant to be played *en gigue*.

[24] See M. Collins, 'The Performance of Triplets in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XIX (1966), p. 281, for this citation and for further discussion of assimilation. See also Harich-Schneider and Jacobi (note 4). No one approach works throughout Bach, who was certainly inconsistent in his use of dotted figures, even though some works appear to be very carefully notated. As Neumann points out, C. P. E. Bach recommends assimilation, while Quantz opposes it.

[25] Chambonnières and Louis Couperin, master and disciple, seemed different enough to their contemporaries to be dubbed 'chefs de secte'; See my 'French Harpsichord Playing in the 17th Century: after Le Gallois', *Early Music*, IV (1976), p. 22.

David Fuller teaches in the State University of New York at Buffalo, USA. We have been asked to mention that David S. Fuller, who contributes to Music & Letters *as David Fuller, is in the English Department of the University of Aberdeen in Scotland.*

What *is* rhythmic alteration?

ROBERT DONINGTON

First, we can agree that rhythmic alteration means any change in the rhythms as notated which we have the option of making in the music as performed. Second, we know for certain that we have these options, because of numerous instructions in the baroque treatises, confirmed by variant readings in actual passages of music which cannot be otherwise explained. Third, if we are too enthusiastic in taking up these options, we shall sound out of style from mere fidgety excess; but if we are too little enthusiastic, we shall sound out of style from failing to do what was so often in a measure done. Fourth, the vital evidence for rhythmic alteration is most extensive in French sources, and also most systematic, although unfortunately the systems are not quite consistent with one another. Fifth, there is nevertheless plenty of evidence for rhythmic alteration from sources of other nationalities, notably Italian, German and English. Thus in most individual passages of baroque music where the options for rhythmic alteration arise at all, we can choose as a matter of taste whether to take them up or not; but in our performances of baroque music as a whole, if we want to get it anything like the way it used to be, we had better choose to take up enough of them, or play other pieces. And here Fuller makes it fascinatingly plain how a good musician, well accustomed to take up and enjoy a sufficient amount of rhythmic alteration, gets so that he finds himself doing it quite spontaneously and as a matter of course. Not too little (which is out of style); not too much (which is incomparably worse); but sufficient within the promptings of his own musicianly temperament.

There are only just so many contexts in which the options for rhythmic alteration genuinely arise. There is (1) *inequality*: performing unequally pairs of notes which are notated equally. There is (2) *variable dotting*: prolonging the value of notated dots (over-dotting) or shortening their value (under-dotting). There is (3) *assimilation* of triple with duple or quadruple units: adapting duplets to triplets or (not very often in baroque music) triplets to duplets or quadruplets.

(1) Inequality is confined to notes *in pairs*: not in threes or fours or any other groupings, unless these break down quite naturally into pairs and can be treated as such. Then (a), if the notes so paired or pairable are the substantially shortest in the passage, without themselves being very fast, and if their movement is mainly stepwise and their nature is graceful, they may be given a *lilting* inequality more or less like triplets or compound triple metre. Or (b), if their movement is either by step or by leap, but most typically by leap, and their nature is energetic, they may be given a *vigorous* inequality more or less like dotted notes. And either lilting inequality or vigorous inequality may (i) be *direct* by prolonging the first and shortening the second note of each pair, which is the most generally useful and regular practice; or (ii) be *reversed* by shortening the first and prolonging the second note, which can be very beautiful in the lilting form and very striking in the vigorous form, but as a special effect rather than as a regular practice.

(2) Variable dotting may (a) be a mere matter of *convenience*, when the notation is casual, so that the dot must be either more or less than its standard value (i.e. half as much again as the note which is dotted)—merely to add up right; or it may (b) be a matter of

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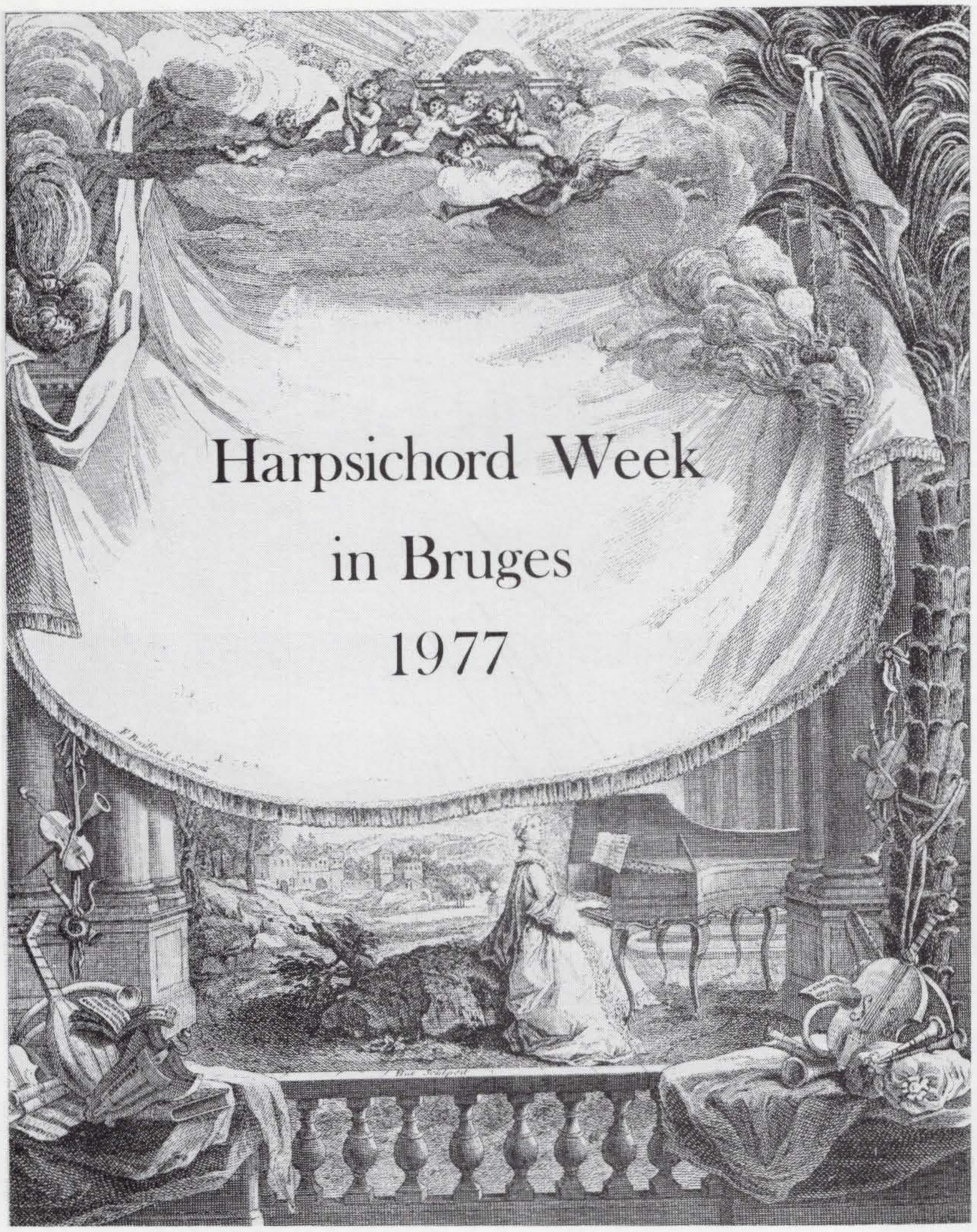
expression, either (i) to *soften off* a rhythm notated with dots to a lilting effect indistinguishable from lilting inequality, or (ii) to *sharpen up* a rhythm notated with dots to a vigorous effect much more unequal even than vigorous inequality, and especially suitable for march-like or agitated passages of the utmost energy.

(3) Assimilation may in certain circumstances be necessary or desirable (a) to avoid two-against-three or three-against-four when the intention is merely a compound triple rhythm, but casually notated; or (b) to do this as an expressive option (more rarely in baroque than in renaissance music).

Beyond these elementary working principles, the matter does get a little more complicated, but not so that it is too difficult for an educated and sensitive musician to make up his mind about it perfectly satisfactorily in practice.

I wonder whether David Fuller sees so shrewdly through the logical fallacies in Frederick Neumann's arguments in part because he is so excellent a musician and cannot be over-persuaded into any position which is less than satisfactory musically? I have always thought that the musical results of Neumann's investigations are oddly nondescript, whereas the French overture itself is such a focused and positive style that it carries its own conviction in addition to standing on firm scholarly foundations which Neumann has not weakened—for, of course, his arguments on the subject *are* circular and disingenuous, and Fuller has served us well in demonstrating just how and why. Again, Fuller makes so very well the crucial point that there never was only one right way of doing it. But there were tendencies, on which I think that most of us are now more or less able to agree—perhaps all of us.

My own further suggestions, and copious selections from the contemporary evidence, are given, from rather different angles of approach, in the new version of *Interpretation of Early Music* and in *Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* (1973). In the former I have included an appreciation of Neumann's forthcoming book, which he so kindly let me see in manuscript; for while there are fallacies in it of the same kind which Fuller analyses here, there is good stuff too, and I welcome it. Still more do I look forward to Fuller's forthcoming article in *The New Grove*. It will bring us all up to date on rhythmic alteration.



Harpsichord Week in Bruges 1977

Much was different this year from previous Harpsichord Weeks, most of all the sheer scale of the proceedings. With a total of 68 harpsichordists from 17 countries entered in the competitions for solo and continuo players, and some 44 instrument builders displaying more than 140 harpsichords, clavichords and fortepianos, the traditional centre of activity, the Concertgebouw, had to be supplemented by the Provinciaal Hof, a large Gothic revival structure used as the seat of the West Flanders authority—so great was the need for space in which to hold the many auditions, lectures, demonstrations and the exhibition itself. But for all that, the unique beauty of the city remains unaltered. Unlike the Venice of the south, Bruges is not in danger of sinking into the sea. Still, much conservation work is in evidence. Old façades are being scrupulously preserved while new buildings are constructed behind them or the original structures restored. There seems to be no end to the city's architectural and artistic treasures. Some of this year's Festival of Flanders concerts took place in unfamiliar churches of unsuspected splendour. A special word of tribute is also owing to the management of the Festival, most of all the indefatigable and ever-tactful Mr Dewitte.

To deal first with the competition itself, the elimination round lasted for five long afternoon sessions, during which each contestant had to interpret Frescobaldi's Toccata II from the 2nd book and the E flat major Prelude and Fugue from Book I of the '48', plus up to seven minutes more of pieces of his own choice. These could be played on either of two Dowd French double harpsichords, one tuned in equal temperament, the other unequally, or a Neupert 'Bach' model modern instrument. (The Dowd harpsichords had been chosen by a majority of contestants polled, but a modern instrument was also provided out of consideration for those unfamiliar with any other type of harpsichord.) One was immediately struck by the variety of approaches to the required selections, as well as by certain similarities perhaps due to the ubiquitous gramophone recordings made by certain members of the jury. The weeding out process yielded 11 semifinalists who were faced with even more formidable interpretative tasks, Louis Couperin's *Prélude à l'imitation de Mr Froberger* and Byrd's *Walsingham*. Dowd small French single and large Flemish double harpsichords, each in an appropriate temperament, were used.

The same maker's Blanchet model two-manual instrument was at the disposal of the three solo finalists who emerged from this gruelling competition to perform J. S. Bach's G major Toccata and son Wilhelm Friedemann's D major Sonata (Falck No. 3), the latter an especially problematical, even ungrateful selection. They also had the privilege of performing Rameau's 4th set of *Pièces de Clavecin en Concert* with the matchless 'baroque' violin and gamba of Sigiswald and Wieland Kuijken. When all this had been heard, the jury (Isolde Ahlgrimm, Christiane Jaccottet, Johan Huys, Gustav Leonhardt, Herbert Tachezi, Colin Tilney and Jos van Immerseel) granted neither a first nor a second prize. A third was bestowed on Françoise Lengellé (France), and two *ex-aequo* fourth prizes on Michel Kiener (Switzerland) and Christopher Kite (Great Britain). It is

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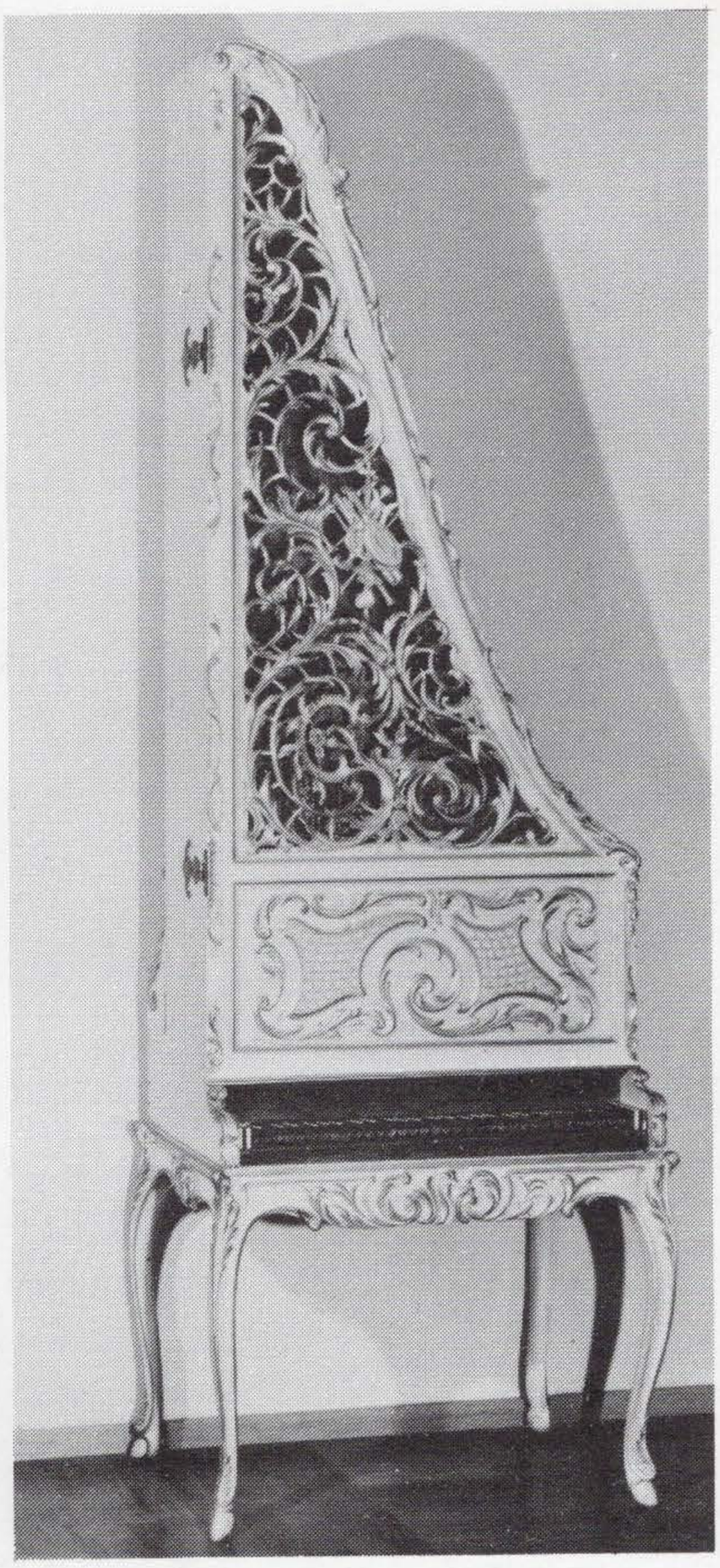
surely significant that the three prize-winners are all relatively senior in age and experience, and that few of the youngest competitors survived the elimination round. In the continuo competition no prize was awarded, but an honourable mention was given to Martin Derungs (Switzerland). He and seven other semi-finalists also received honourable mention in the solo competition.

Seen as a whole, the standard of performance in the competition varied between rather wide limits. Experience counted for much since no instrument is so cruel in exposing musical immaturity as the harpsichord. It is still true to say, however, that the general level of performance was higher than in previous competitions even if no clear front-running first prize winner (such as Scott Ross in 1971) emerged. The members of the jury were most gracious in offering private words of advice and counsel to contestants who asked for them.

In addition to a wide variety of concerts in the Festival of Flanders, including memorable Bach solo recitals by Isolde Ahlgrimm and Gustav Leonhardt, many lecture-recitals and demonstrations open to the public took place during this busy week. Most of all these events were related in one way or another to the announced theme: 'J. S. Bach and his time'. Mireille Lagacé presented an introduction to the *Principes du Clavecin* (1702) of M. de St Lambert. Jos Van Immerseel presented a fascinating talk, with musical illustrations, of practical means of reconciling baroque theories of rhetoric and affects in the interpretation of music of the period. Colin Tilney held forth on 'Authentic Scarlatti?' emphasizing the question mark, as he put it. After reviewing the known facts of the matter, the life, the text and recent scholarship by Ralph Kirkpatrick and others, he went on to plead for the special virtues of harpsichords of Italian rather than Northern European construction for performing the sonatas. This he demonstrated on a beautifully finished instrument by Clayson and Garrett based on the 1779 Vicenzio Sodi harpsichord in the Exeter Museum which they recently restored. The outer case of malachite green *faux marbre* on a massive pedestal was a striking picture in itself. Tilney then played one sonata on a Dowd Blanchet model harpsichord as well as on the Sodi copy, ostensibly to strengthen his case. In fact, he weakened it because the extremes of the compass were better balanced by far in the French-style design. Since Scarlatti is so fond of opposing in very quick succession the top and bottom ranges, especially in cross-hand figurations, the relatively soft upper register of the Italian instrument, for all its undeniable clarity and directness of speech, tended to answer the loud plunk in the bass with a tiny plink in the treble.

Unequal temperaments again came in for discussion in a pair of ably-presented historical lecture demonstrations by Pierre-Yves Asselin, as well as in a most unusual talk by Dr Herbert A. Kellner, an astrophysicist and amateur musician. He believes that Bach's tuning scheme for the '48' is based on the concept that 'the well-tempered major triad is to be seen as a symbol of the Holy Trinity in the musical thinking of the baroque age'. Much mathematical learning and a dash of numerology too, well known as a favourite game of Bach's, entered into this lecture. One wonders whether any practical difference was discernible between this subtle tuning scheme and the well-known temperaments of, say, Werckmeister and Kirnberger. Herbert Tachezi discoursed learnedly on aspects of Bach's contrapuntal writing for keyboard, the 4 Duets (*Clavierübung III*) and the 4 canonic fugues in the *Art of Fugue*.

Isolde Ahlgrimm is such a soft-spoken, gentle lady that one hardly realized that she was dropping a succession of bombshells in her talk modestly entitled 'On present-day performing practice of baroque music'. In her quiet way she attacked the false and exaggerated 'trendy' notions which have spread among harpsichordists in recent years, such as the belief that so-called 'early' fingerings necessarily exclude legato playing, and the related misconception that such fingerings



Clavicytherium by Albert Delin, c1760 (Gemeentemuseum, The Hague)

perforce imply inequality of notes. She stressed the fundamental difference between the French *inégalité*, a grace, and the German *Accentuierung*, a rhetorical device involving the stressing of strong beats. She concluded her plea for moderation and tolerance by warning against a precious excessive concern for matching instruments and music exactly, and by exhorting students to seek their own individualities and to avoid imitating their teachers or favourite players 'as long as possible'.

Surely nowhere else could one see as great a variety of instruments on display as were shown this year at Bruges, despite the absence of such famous makers as Ahrend, Bédard, Rubio and Skowroneck. The exhibition ran the entire gamut from the most literal historical copies to unashamedly

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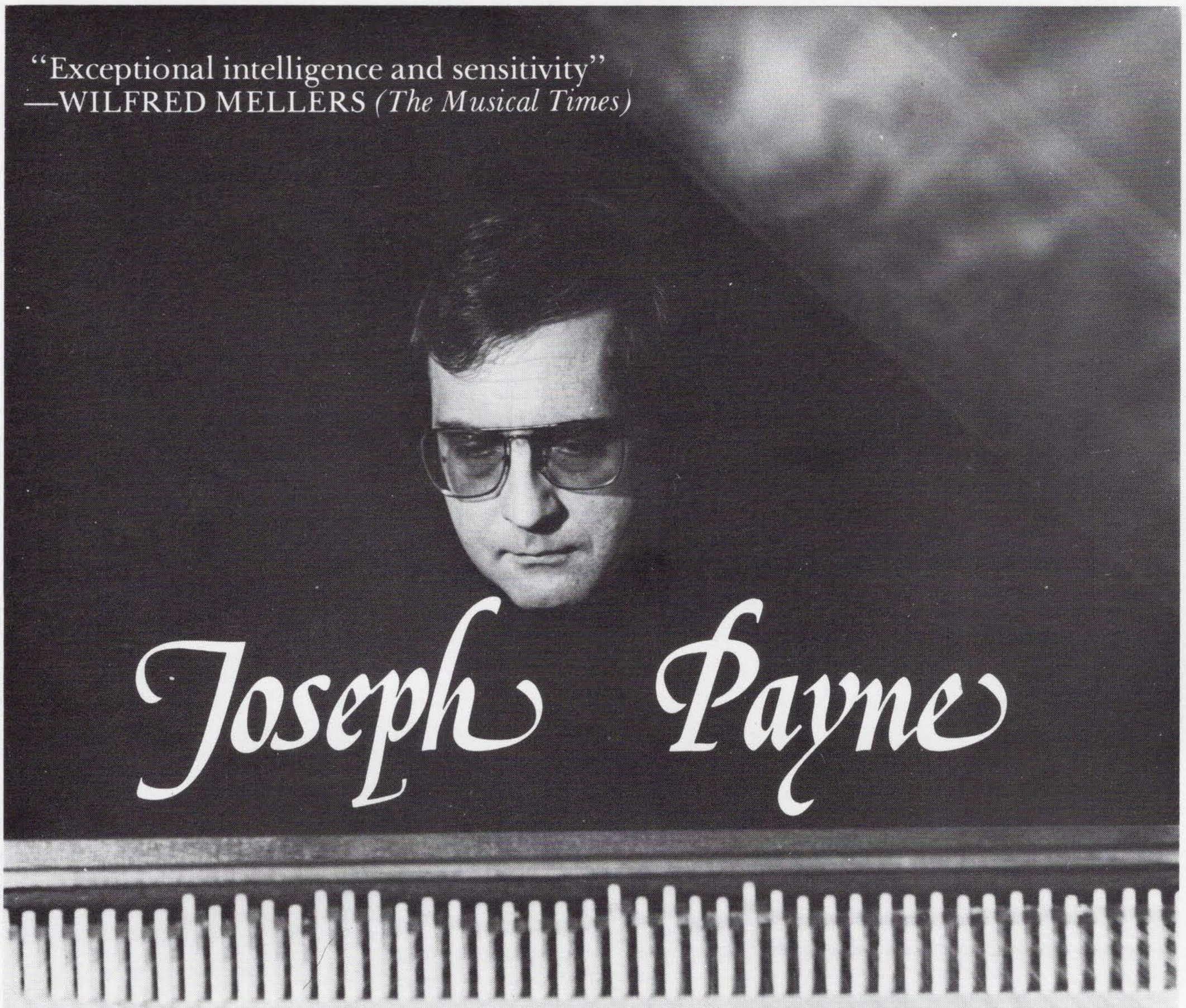

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modern instruments with, dare one utter the words, the disreputable 16′ register. One had the impression that it was the reproduction instruments which were of greatest interest to the concert performers, contestants and other visitors. Nevertheless one had to respect the modern instruments for their solid construction and those in charge of them for keeping them in excellent tune and regulation despite adverse conditions. Apart from a very small number of instruments of traditional type but not of exhibition standard, one was impressed by the high mean level of quality. It is impossible to discuss every one of more than 140 instruments in detail, obviously.

A small number of clavichords were included this year in spite of the virtual impossibility of hearing them except when removed to a small antechamber, as was done informally after a few days by the makers exhibiting in the Provinciaal Hof. Carl Fudge even had the temerity to demonstrate his tiny portable fretted clavichord (also available as a kit) in a large room. His boldness paid off for the clear, bright sound penetrated to the very back of the small hall, no doubt helped by his skilful sensitive playing. Adlam Burnett displayed two fine clavichords, a fretted instrument after Georg Schmahl and a large unfretted model based on a Hass. Goble also presented a splendid large German 18th-century instrument in a handsome polished mahogany case. Kaufmann was represented by their fretted clavichord after an anonymous 17th-century instrument in the Brussels Musée Instrumental.

As always there were many large 18th-century French and late Flemish harpsichords on show. In addition to the Dowd instruments used in the competition, all but one of the French type, one noted Rainer Schütze's Blanchet model, based on a *ravalement* of a Ruckers harpsichord in a Frankfurt museum, an interesting and useful compromise combining some virtues from each of these breeds. Double harpsichords based on the 1745 Washington Dulcken were shown by a number of makers, including Feldberg, Goble, Kater, Klop, Merzdorf, Tournay and Wittmayer, all quite successful in their way, which is a tribute both to the merits of the design and the excellent drawing available from the Smithsonian Institution. Models derived from the Dulcken single of 1747 or its undated sister instrument in the John Barnes Collection, a most useful general-purpose harpsichord, were few. Examples were displayed by Christian Lagier and by Mark Stevenson, the latter along with a Blanchet double and some small instruments. In addition to their Sodi model, Clayson and Garrett also displayed their copy of a Kirckman single harpsichord. The Dolmetsch firm exhibited a similar instrument but one

The director of the Bruges Conservatoire playing the Adlam Burnett fortepiano (Photo by Howard Schott)

rather more influenced by modern harpsichord construction in many details. A splendid example of a single harpsichord was the Blanchet model shown by Willard Martin, one which should find wide favour. The two young builders trading as Des Michel exhibited an interesting French single derived from the 1729 Père Bellot harpsichord.

One of the finest models for an 18th-century French type of instrument seems to be the design used by Henri Hemsch. Both the Hubbard finished instrument shop version of a 1756 Hemsch and Neupert's of a 1754 harpsichord by the same maker were outstandingly fine, as indeed was also Sassman's rendering of a Hemsch prototype. These are somewhat more virile instruments than one generally credits French harpsichords with being, less fruity than Taskins in sound but also less inclined to 'honk' as Dulcken models, so much in favour, tend to do. French doubles derived from Taskin were seen at the show with notable examples by Woolley and Sassmann.

The 18th-century Belgian maker, Albert Delin, furnished the models for instruments with a 2×8′ disposition, either as single harpsichords or as clavicytheria. Both Jean Tournay and G. C. Klop produced excellent reproductions of the upright instrument especially. The full tone is almost overwhelming, especially to the player who receives an earful indeed when the musical texture thickens. The gifted Hugo van Emmerik also offered his fine version of the Delin single harpsichord, but like his brother Louis, he concentrates mainly on instruments of earlier types after 17th-century Italian and Flemish designs. Such earlier varieties of instrument are welcome. It may well be that builders, whose preoccupations can differ from those of players, have specialized unduly in the later 18th-century instruments. Another outstanding builder focusing on earlier models is Werner Iten who displayed an excellent interpretation of the Vincent Tibaud 1679 two-manual harpsichord in the Brussels Musée Instrumental, which won the admiration of public and colleagues alike. His compatriot, André Extermann, also specializes in earlier instruments and showed an Italian virginal and harpsichord. A goodly number of Flemish virginals by Bom, Davies, Klop, Sassmann, van Emmerik and Woolley were also on display. The plummy muselar tone is evidently more popular than the musically versatile but astringent Italian virginal. Other varieties of Italian harpsichord not previously noted were plentifully on show in all sizes as made by such builders as Klop, Maene, Schütze and Wittmayer. Goble displayed a lavishly inlaid large 2×8′ single, thought to be of Spanish design.

The exhibition was also well provided with harpsichords said to be based on Ruckers instruments. Two free

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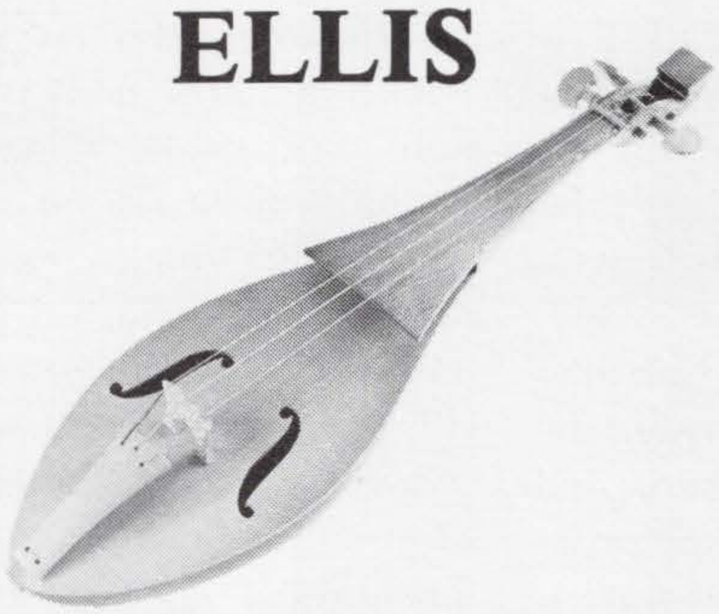

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adaptations, a single and a double, were shown by Ortega (Schütze). A number of the Wittmayer instruments claimed a Ruckers pedigree, as did those exhibited by Davies, Mitchell and Andrew Thomas. Unusual interest was shown in two beautiful double harpsichords, one by Adlam Burnett based on the 1638 Ruckers in the Russell Collection, the other by Eckehart Merzdorf derived from the 1640 Schloss Ahaus instrument. Both were exceptionally sweet in sound and handsomely decorated. The final flowering of the Flemish harpsichord was vividly recalled by the brilliant, full-bodied two-manual instrument by Ivan de Halleux after the Johann Peter Bull original of 1778 in the R. K. Lee Collection.

It had been expected that 1977 might be the 'Year of the fortepiano' at Bruges but relatively few were on display. Neupert showed their reconstructions of two five-octave instruments, a grand of Mozart's time and a little German square. The grand was almost too good to be true, with an exceptionally full sound, quite different from this maker's earlier 'Mozart pianos'. Albert and Christiaan Maene exhibited a resonant five-octave grand after a J. L. Dulcken original of 1794 in The Hague, for which they had designed a fine Viennese action to replace the missing mechanism of the prototype. G. C. Klop also showed a similar Viennese grand which was favourably received. A slightly larger instrument of greater potential was displayed by Adlam Burnett, a reproduction of a Michael Rosenberger Viennese grand of *c*1795 with FF-c^4 compass which sings right up to its top note, making it an ideal medium for performing the classics as late as middle-period Beethoven. By a sad mischance the two kit instruments sent by the Frank Hubbard workshop for display went astray. It is reliably reported that the kit based on the Johann Andreas Stein five-octave fortepiano of 1784, as restored by Philip Belt, makes up into an excellent instrument. No doubt the Flemish single harpsichord derived from the 1584 Moermans in the Hubbard Collection will also meet with success in Europe after its auspicious launching in the USA.

The Heugel kit instruments on display were of models previously shown, including the five-and-one-half octave English grand of a most unusual tone quality. My personal favourite is still the little polygonal four-octave spinet which speaks clearly with a crisp, bright sound. The various Zuckermann kit models made a highly favourable impression. Each of them had been made up by a different workshop. The large French double harpsichord and the extended five-octave Flemish model both sounded very fine indeed during the demonstrations. Kit instruments are not only here to stay but have also reached a quality potential which a few years back was the exclusive preserve of the best finished instrument makers.

An important subsidiary function of the Bruges gatherings is the exchange of information amongst builders. The best of them know that they have colleagues rather than competitors and that there is much they can learn from each other's experience. An attempt at a Harpsichord Forum at which makers, performers and amateurs could exchange thoughts was frustrated by the need to translate all that was said into two more languages, a task Dr Kellner undertook valiantly but with the result that the proceedings resembled nothing more than sessions of the Security Council of the UN with consecutive as well as simultaneous translation. But, after all, the most important aspect of the Harpsichord Week at Bruges is the unique opportunity it affords for contact and conversation among players, makers and enthusiasts of the harpsichord. Speaking personally, I can hardly wait to go back in 1980!

Meanwhile plans are being made for the next competition to be held in Bruges as part of the 1978 Festival of Flanders. On 28 July 1978, elimination rounds will begin in two categories of Musica Antiqua Ensembles. The first category includes duos and trios, while the second takes in ensembles from quartets up to a maximum of twelve players. Musica Antiqua has not yet been narrowly defined so next year's jury may be faced with having to compare vastly dissimilar groups performing totally different repertoires. No doubt this will all be clarified in due course. Meanwhile potential competitors would be well advised to begin hard work in preparation. If anything at all is certain, it is that the standard of the ensemble competition will be very high indeed.

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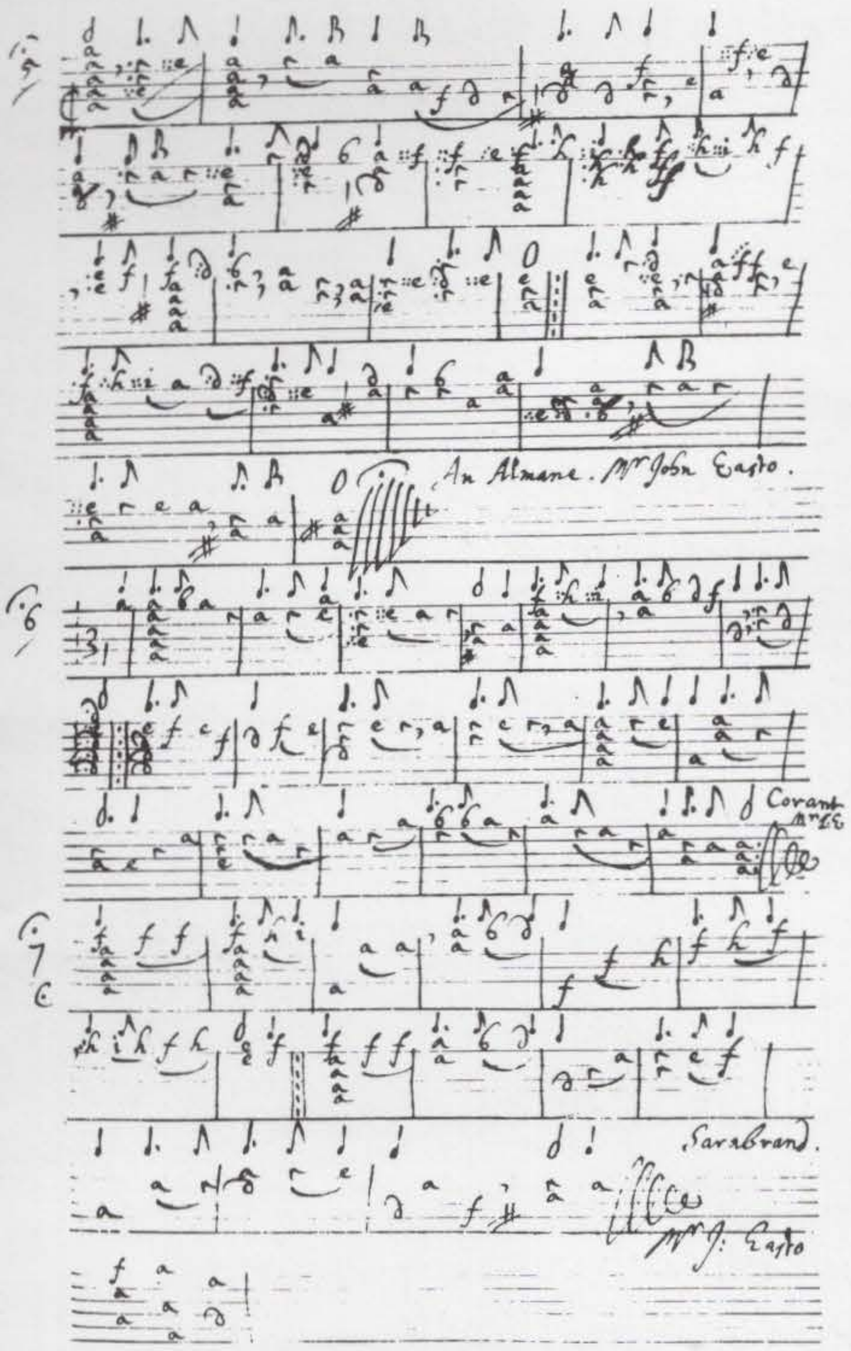
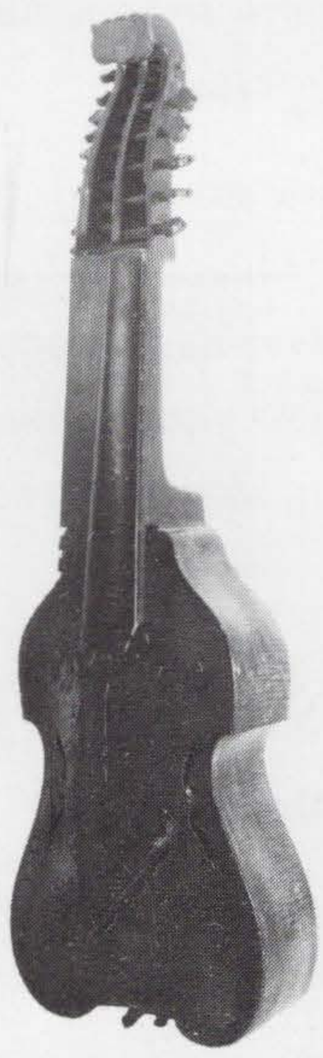

Lyra viol tablature manuscript c 1660-80



A baryton from the third quarter of the 18th century

This report covers the close of the 1976/77 season for the London auction houses, a season which will certainly have been a record one for the sale of musical instruments. Although no exact figures are available at the time of going to press, it is possible to estimate that the combined total sales of the three major salerooms, i.e. Christie's, Phillips and Sotheby's, will fall between £1 million and £1½ million.

The two major sales both occurred in one week in May, the first one being at Christie's and as usual it comprised instruments, printed music and manuscripts. It included a delightful letter from Wolfgang Mozart to his wife Constanze which was written from Leipzig in May 1789. While being an intimate letter addressed 'Dearest, most beloved little Wife of my Heart' it was signed very formally 'W. A. Mozart'. This realized £16,500. The other major lot was a violin by Antonio Stradivari of *c*1720 which, neither certificated nor recorded in the standard works, fetched £41,800.

Another of the great Italian makers, Peter Guarneri of Verona, was represented by a tenor viola da gamba (£4,950) in the same sale. This instrument was built without corners and with f-holes. Also of Italian make was a highly decorated chitarra battente (£2,860). It is not often that large chamber organs appear in the saleroom, perhaps because of the physical problems of dismantling and reassembling them in the viewing room. However, Christie's braved the difficulties and offered a fine English organ, catalogued as in the style of Samuel Green, their pains being rewarded by a price of £5,280.

The following day Sotheby's held the first part of a two-day sale, which comprised printed music and manuscripts. As at Christie's, one of the more interesting items came from the pen of Mozart but, in this case, a four-line poem (£9,020). Copies of *The Division Violist* by Christopher Simpson certainly appear in the saleroom from time to time, but this one was of particular importance as bound in with it were 68 leaves of lyra-viol tablature in manu-

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Publications in preparation include madrigals by Jacques Arcadelt and Philippe Verdelot, chansons by Lassus and Thomas Crecquillon, canzonas by Banchieri, Bonelli and others, and dances by Erasmus Widmann, Michael Praetorius and others.

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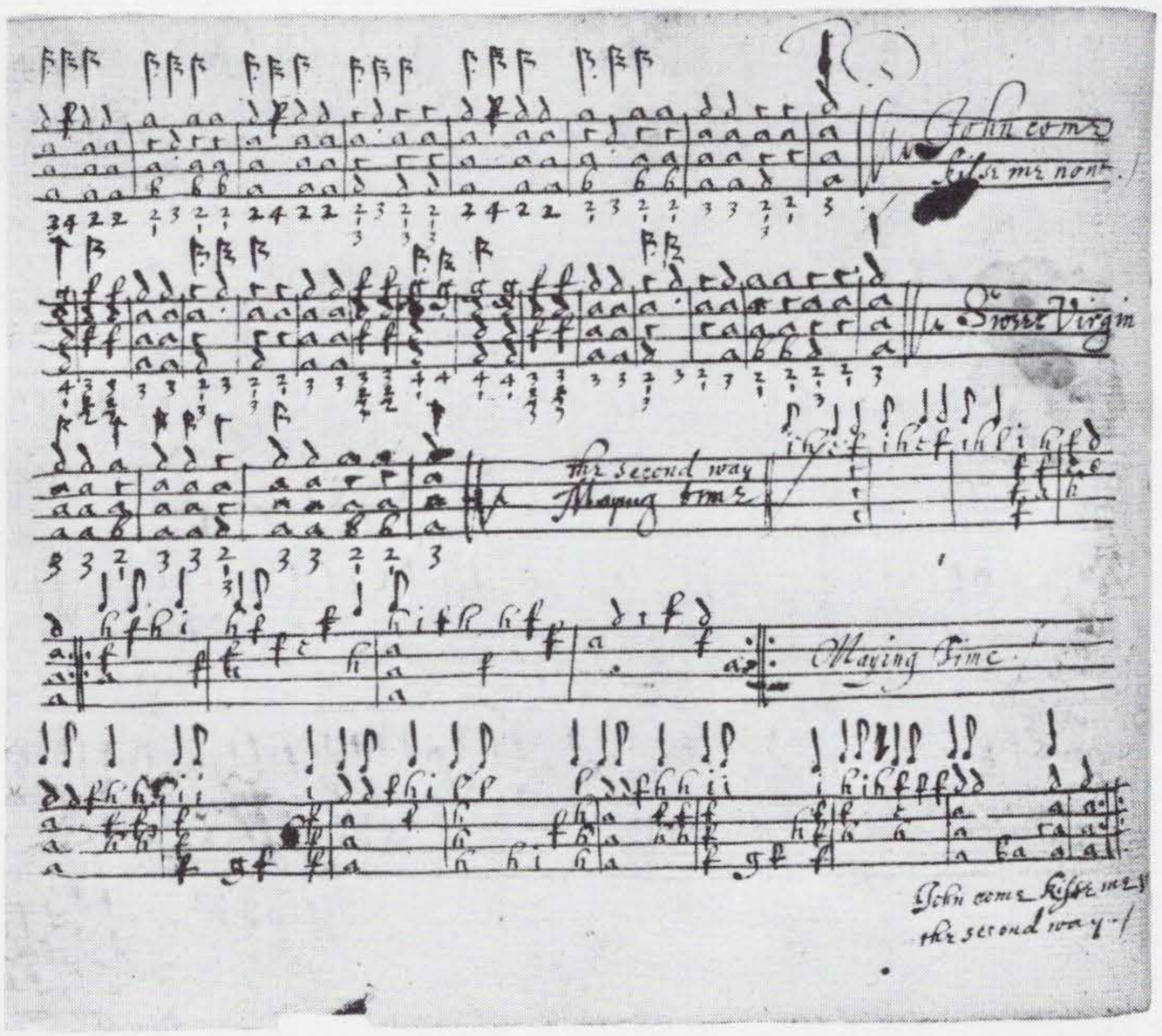

'John come kiss me now'. Leaf from a MS collection for cittern c 1600 and c 1655-70

script comprising 138 separate pieces for solo viol, many of them unrecorded. This realized £6,600.

The second day brought the climax of this group of sales with a particularly notable one in the violin field, for it contained no less than six Guarneri violins: one by each of the five members of the family and two by Peter of Venice. Inevitably most attention was drawn to the example by Joseph Guarneri del Jesu, which is known as the ex-Adam and is dated 1738. Although it was bid up to £115,500 in the room, it was in fact unsold at that time, but the sale was later concluded at £99,000, a price which certainly indicates the importance of this maker in relation to his contemporary, Stradivari.

The interest in this sale, however, was not confined to the bowed strings. Amongst woodwind were items such as a picco pipe (£165), a one-keyed ebony flute by Heinrich Grenser of Dresden (£1,760), and a two-keyed oboe by John Mason (£1,210). Unfortunately this latter instrument had been deformed at some time in the past when the top ring of the 'cotton reel' finial had been turned off, but it was otherwise a sound playing instrument.

Although Highland bagpipes are seen fairly often in sales, it is not common to find any of the other varieties. It was, therefore, good to see no less than two sets of zampognas, both of them from the early 19th century (£375 and £165). They were both accompanied by their piffero, the small shawm that is played in conjunction with the pipes. It is interesting that the larger of the two chanters of the zampogna still retains the fontanelle to protect its key. The other bagpipes were a fine ivory and silver mounted set of Northumbrian smallpipes by the famous maker, Robert Reid (£1,760).

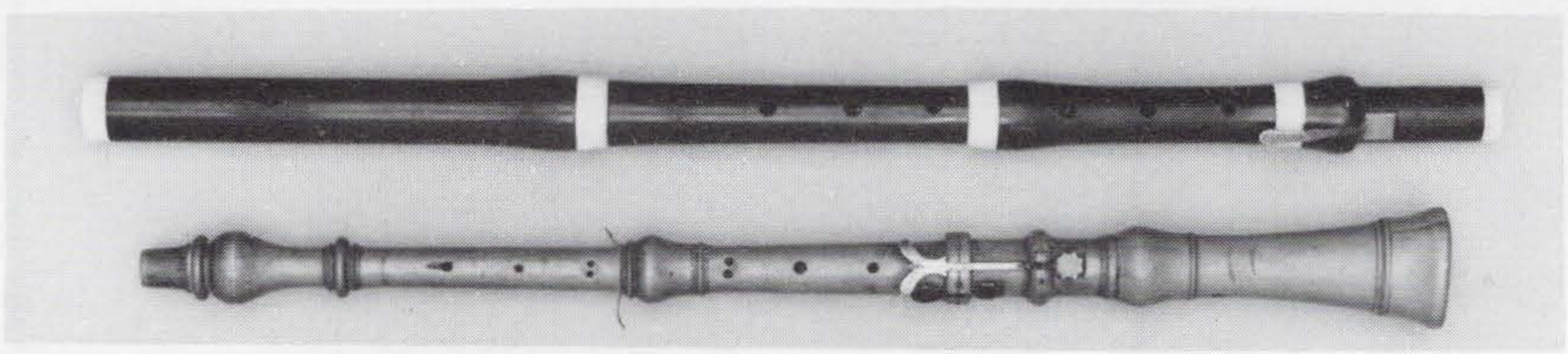
One oddity in the sale was a bass cecilium (£495), which could best be described as a cross between a concertina and a cello: it is a free-reed instrument held like a cello and played by the right hand cranking the bellows while the left presses the buttons. At least one virtuoso on the cecilium is recorded—Jules Turin, a professor of the violin at the Paris Conservatoire in the mid-19th century.

Of considerable practical use was a mid-18th-century quartet music stand (£1,650). At each corner were hinged candlestick trays which could undoubtedly perform a better function today as receptacles for glasses of claret. A George III duet music stand by Erard realized £950.

Amongst keyboard instruments, a fully restored grand by John Broadwood & Son of 1804 realized £4,400, and a spinet by Thomas Hitchcock the Younger was withdrawn at £3,000. This too had been fully restored but restoration had entailed replacing the soundboard, and although the original one was still with the instrument its state rendered it very nearly useless.

Without doubt the rarest instrument in the whole sale was a baryton which was more than usually unusual in having smaller dimensions than other surviving examples, many of which are far more ornate than this. Sadly it had suffered severe worm damage, but its scarcity was reflected in the price of £3,300.

Sotheby's have been selling the huge Phillipps Library of Manuscripts for many years. In the part sold this June there appeared another rare early musical manuscript, this time for cittern and consisting of 100 solo and consort pieces. As with the viol tablature mentioned above, many of the pieces were previously unknown and include the works of such composers as Holborne and Dowland.



One-keyed ebony flute by Heinrich Grenser, Dresden. Third quarter of 18th century and a two-keyed boxwood oboe by John Mason, London, third quarter of 18th century

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BOOKS

Orlando di Lasso: sein Leben
HORST LEUCHTMANN
Breitkopf & Härtel, £35

Ten Madrigals
ORLANDUS LASSUS
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Oxford University Press, £2.80

Horst Leuchtmann's new book on the life of Lassus will surely be the definitive work in this field for some time to come. 'Biography' would scarcely be the right word to do this volume justice, and yet 'an attempt at a stocktaking of the biographical particulars' (to translate the subtitle literally) sounds too dry for one so readable and well laid out. The fascination of the book partly depends, of course, on the fact that Lassus, besides being one of the greatest composers of his time, was a great cosmopolitan with remarkably varied career and connections, even though he spent a large part of his life at the Bavarian court in Munich.

Leuchtmann's aim in this first volume (a second one, of his letters, will follow) is to present the simple facts of Lassus' life by means of an exhaustive review, not to say purge, of all previous scholarship on this aspect of the composer. His introduction presents an overall view of the literature going back to 1566, the year in which Lassus (then only in his mid-30s) achieved the distinction of an entry contributed by his compatriot Samuel Quickelberg to a lexicon of famous Bavarians, attesting to a wide reputation for his years comparable (Leuchtmann suggests) with Mozart's two centuries later. The author seems to regard the work of Wolfgang Boetticher, writer of an authoritative book of 1958 on Lassus and his music, as having been successful mainly in extending knowledge of the music and its sources, and later seems to take Boetticher quite frequently to task for biographical inaccuracies.

The main body of the book consists of a chronology of the known facts about Lassus' life with an extensive commentary. Here Leuchtmann brings documentary evidence to bear, and follows the propagation of fact and (more often) fiction through the Lassus literature down the years, confidently and convincingly hacking his way through the bibliographical jungle without losing the reader's interest. For instance, on the matter of Lassus' name, a survey of his letters shows that he always used Orlando (or occasionally its Latin form) for his Christian name, never Roland; and Lasso more often than Lassus, but mostly without the 'di'. As to his Roman sojourn in the early 1550s, Leuchtmann argues that he served for two years at St John Lateran, but finds no grounds for assuming he knew Palestrina. He did visit England in 1554, though later sources are confused on the matter. And so one could continue; we may for the moment content ourselves with two enticing titbits from the years 1575 and 1583, in which Lassus won the 'silver organ' for motets he had submitted for a competition held at Évreux, near Paris. The incongruity of his name among those of so many forgotten French *maîtres de chapelle* in the table of prizewinners (p. 179), coupled with the irreverent association with present-day televisual song contests, cannot but be faintly amusing, besides enhancing our view of this remarkable life.

Leuchtmann provides several valu-

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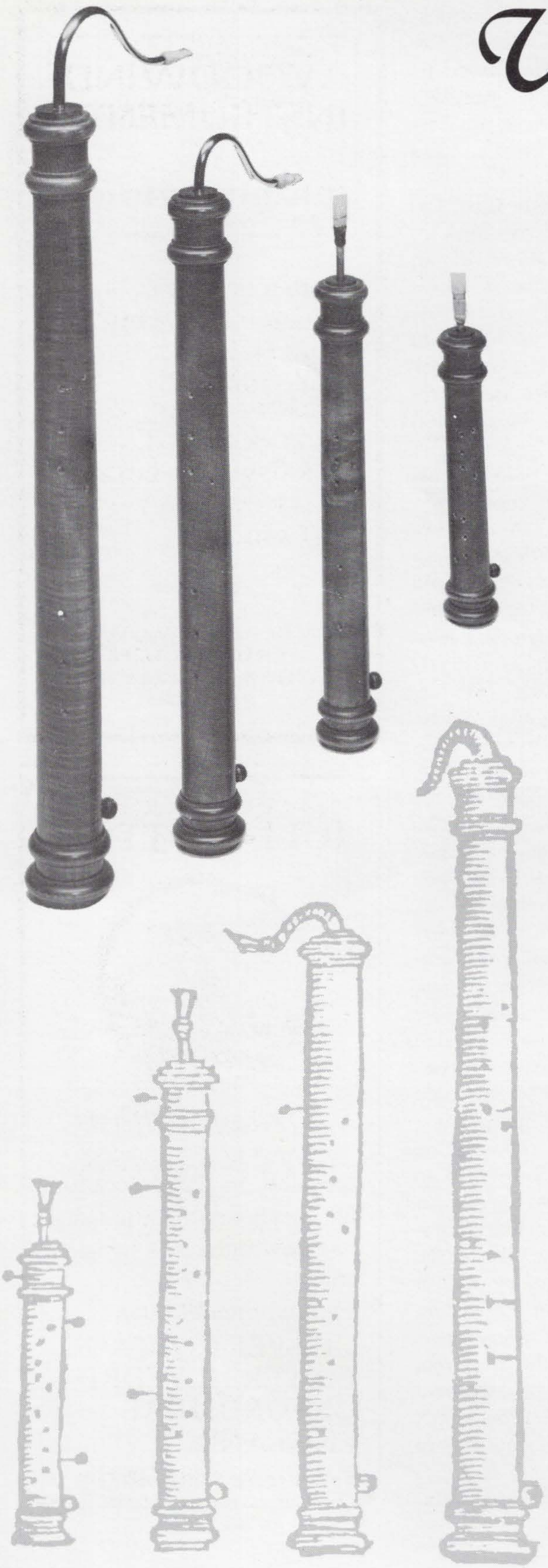

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A 19th-century evocation of music at the Munich court from Horst Leuchtmann's Orlando di Lasso

able appendices: a summary of Lassus' economic position extrapolated from paybooks in the Munich court archives, a survey of the Lassus iconography (together with 47 full-page plates of portraits and other material), quotations of dedicatory poems in praise of the composer ranging from hilarious German doggerel to inexorably rolling Latin periods, and lastly extracts (some in facsimile) from selected contemporary documents. The price of the volume is high, inflation and the exchange rate notwithstanding, and will deter even some institutional buyers, but certainly no scholarly library should be without it. It is a model of meticulous scholarship, its German prose is never heavy going, and it affords countless insights into a life story of absorbing interest, and into the period which was its backcloth.

Even within the overall genre of the madrigal, Lassus' output was nothing if not varied, as is shown by Denis Arnold's well chosen selection. All but one of the ten madrigals were hitherto unavailable in performing editions. There are six four-part and three five-part Italian pieces drawn from various periods of Lassus' creative life, and one secular Latin motet, *Vinum bonum*, for double choir, a mock-serious drinking song typical of the Munich atmosphere then and now. Among the four-part pieces are one intense, spiritual madrigal from Lassus' later years and, in strong contrast, two witty, light-weight works of the *villanella* type, written mainly in homophony with sprightly rhythms; but perhaps the purest gem is the little setting of Petrarch's *Occhi piangete*. A better-known Petrarch text, *Solo e pensoso*, receives a five-part setting whose opening strongly foreshadows a later one by Giaches de Wert in its strange melodic lines. The fact that Lassus never resorted to the stylistic brilliance of the later 'mannerists' should, however, commend this publication to the amateur or student madrigal group, for the music in it makes no special demands on the performer. Its style is attractive and restrained; like Cipriano de Rore, Lassus knew how to evoke the mood of a text without fussy, detailed word painting, and yet could vary the pace of the music most subtly. Though it may well be sung by several voices to a part, this remains intimate chamber music—*musica reservata*, in fact. Professor Arnold's edition is unfussy and clearly printed, Dr Barbara Reynolds' prose translations are admirable: the collection is a welcome addition to the repertory of easily available Italian madrigals.

JEROME ROCHE

The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata

DAVID TUNLEY

Dobson, 1974, £7.50

In the past the history and nature of the French cantata have been known so slenderly that David Tunley, in his comprehensive study of the genre, could have started anywhere. In fact he sensibly begins with some general observations concerning the stimulus which gave rise to the fairly shortlived fashion of the cantata in France. Until the appearance of Tunley's fascinating book on the subject, the French cantata

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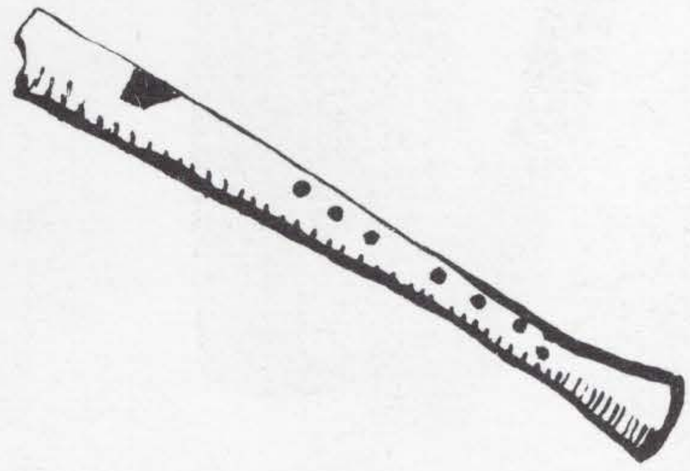

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was virtually unexplored except by French singers interested in their own music of the period. It has not been a form to assume speedy popularity in England any more than it has done in Italy or Germany; and the reason for this is probably that French cantatas of the 18th century were not standard repertory at court. A very great deal of the non-operatic repertory of the *grand siècle* and after has impressed itself on our imaginations by the fact that so often it was closely allied with court entertainments and functions of a particularly spectacular kind. The cantata, on the other hand, as Tunley shows in detail, was developed in Paris rather than at Versailles, its platform being the Concert français and not, for instance, Les Trianons, or the château at Marly. The earlier sections of the book, which deal with the background to the cantata, I found particularly interesting; and here, as elsewhere, Tunley provides a wealth of contemporary documentation.

The principal influence on the French cantata, outside France, was Italy. François Couperin was by no means alone in his ideal of blending the French and Italian styles; and Rameau's comment that if he had been younger he would have gone to Italy and taken Pergolesi as his model is well known. What is less well known, however, is that French composers working two generations before Rameau often strove for the same ideals. The most celebrated of these was Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1636-1704) who studied music under Carissimi in Rome and who, arguably, was the composer of France's first cantata. French scholars of an earlier generation have usually considered that Charpentier's *Orphée descendant aux enfers* constitutes a part of a whole now presumably lost. I was glad to read that Tunley thinks otherwise and gives good reasons for doing so. *Orphée* is beautifully proportioned and emotionally so well shaped that its dramatic form, though short, is almost perfect for the sentiments expressed. In dealing with the subject of French and Italian characteristics in the *cantate française* Tunley is both painstaking and, judging by the many musical examples, sensitive to the subtle differences of style.

Another particularly useful feature is Tunley's textual analysis. Sensibly he takes a few librettos at random and deals with them meticulously. One does not always, perhaps, arrive at the same conclusions but Tunley encourages the reader to think about facets of this topic otherwise easily overlooked.

In the greater part of the book Tunley traces the fortunes of the French cantata from its earliest beginnings to its decline from the middle of the 18th century. Only one chapter is allotted to a single figure in the history of the cantata—Louis-Nicolas Clérambault whose output, published in five books over a period of 16 years, represents much that is finest in this genre. A pity, however, that Tunley had not allowed himself to grant a separate chapter to Nicolas Bernier who produced eight books of cantatas for one and two voices at a time roughly contemporary with Clérambault and especially between 1703 and 1715.

In a series of useful appendices the author has collected repertory and modern performing editions, works performed at the *Concerts français* in Paris, and an index to cantata texts by the principal author of them, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. In short, a readable and scholarly book, lucidly presented, which fills a large and important lacuna in French music history.

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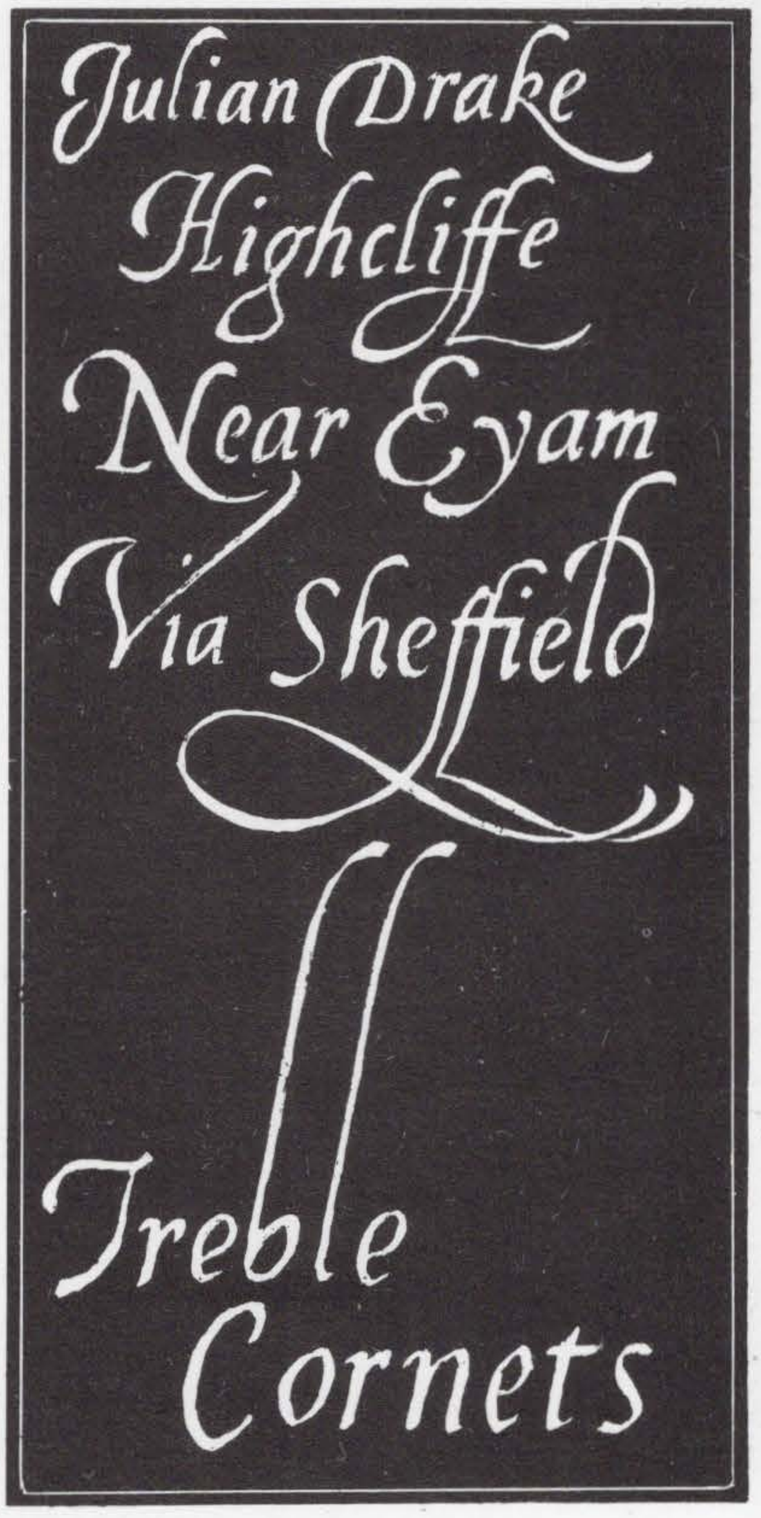

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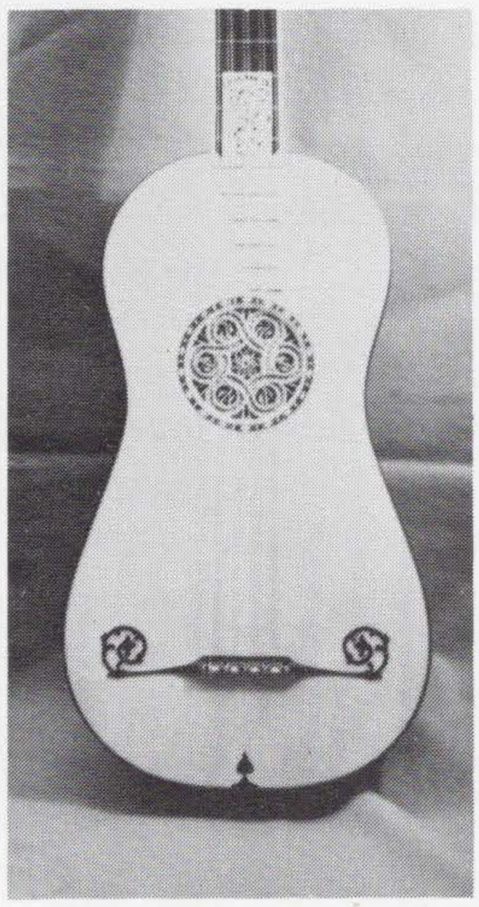

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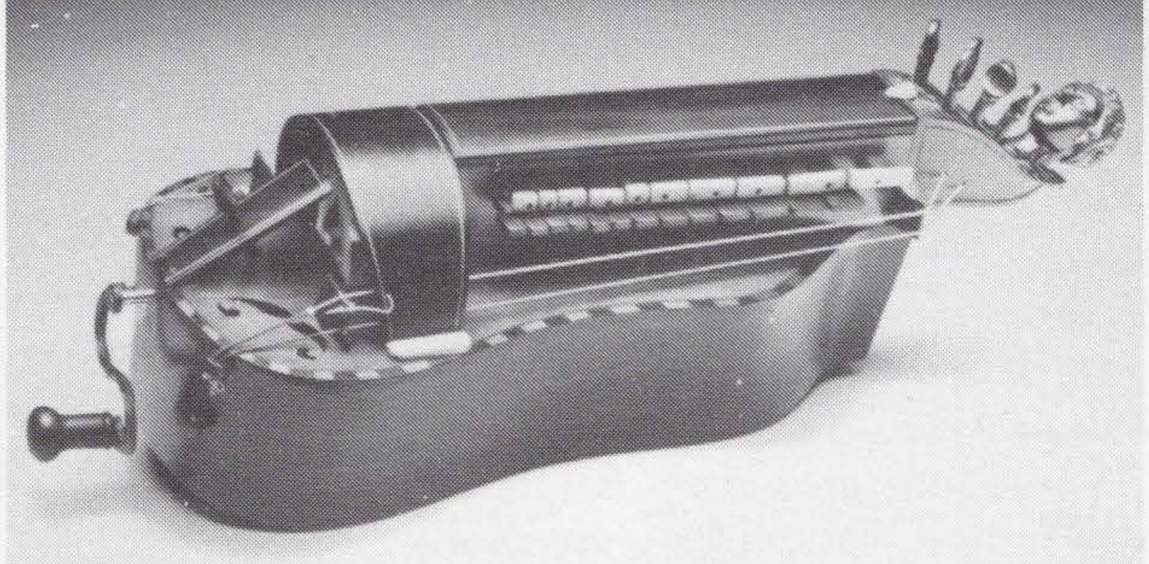

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plates and over three pages of bibliography. It is primarily concerned with the Renaissance and baroque guitar, the *vihuela da mano* and the *viola da mano* with the *chitarra battente* given some attention.

The second includes the same two-page table, 10 pages of text, eight full-page plates and two-and-a-half pages of bibliography. It is primarily concerned with the cittern, bandora and orpharion, with the polyphant and stump given some attention.

These booklets are introductions intended for the non-specialist. This intention is admirably realized: the writing is concise but unhurried and clear throughout; a description of each instrument is given with indication of tunings, repertory and the social and musical context within which the instrument was played; and the amount of detail included is remarkable for the modest lengths of the publications. Even specialists will want to keep copies near at hand since they include not only a compilation and distillation of information scattered amongst the journals, but also fruits of Dr Gill's own research which have not been previously published.

The author has not pursued the safe course of including only that which is generally accepted by scholars in the field, and thus he gives a full and usually up-to-date, though personal and occasionally controversial view. The controversial points will be argued for some time.* Happily these are not issues where the student can be misled into an unwise instrument purchase or into wasting time practising on the wrong tuning or with the wrong technique. Research into plucked stringed instruments contemporary with the lute is progressing rapidly and the reader cannot expect that perceptions of the field as given in these booklets should remain permanently definitive. We can thus expect a somewhat altered and expanded second edition of these booklets not many years hence. When that happens it might be worth including within the scheme those round-backed fretted plucked instruments that are not lutes such as the angélique, the mandora and the colascione.

In these booklets Dr Gill has collected together much valuable information useful to both student and specialist. He and the Lute Society are to be congratulated on this highly effective pursuit of their most worthwhile educational project.

EPHRAIM SEGERMAN

* *A forum where much of this argument appears is FoMRHI Communications.*

The Manufacture of Musical Instruments

Translated by HELEN TULLBERT

Picton Publishing, Chippenham, 1975, £2

My reaction on first flicking through this book was thankful wonder that dozens of 8″ by 13″ pages full of well-produced 18th-century engravings (some familiar but some not) cost but £2. Where they came from had slipped my mind so I turned to the title page to remind myself. There were the names of the translator from the French and her technical adviser, then seven lines on the technical adviser (except that here he is called the translator) detailing his previous accomplishments (none of which is relevant to 18th-century instruments). Then an acknowledgement to the owner of the original, but no statement of what it is. Then I remembered that it is the article 'Luthérie' from Diderot's famous *Encyclopédie*—a work that is alluded to in the text, but only as the place where other relevant articles are.

The book contains seven pages of English translation and the rest is facsimile, comprising seven pages of names and sometimes descriptions of items in the plates, 11 plates on the organ, 21 plates on other instruments and a final folding-out two-page table of tunings and ranges. The illustrations show complete instruments, inside views and parts, and instrument-making tools. The clarity and detail shown are usually excellent.

As one might expect from the title page, the standard of care in preparing the English text falls sadly short of the standard of the printing. There are

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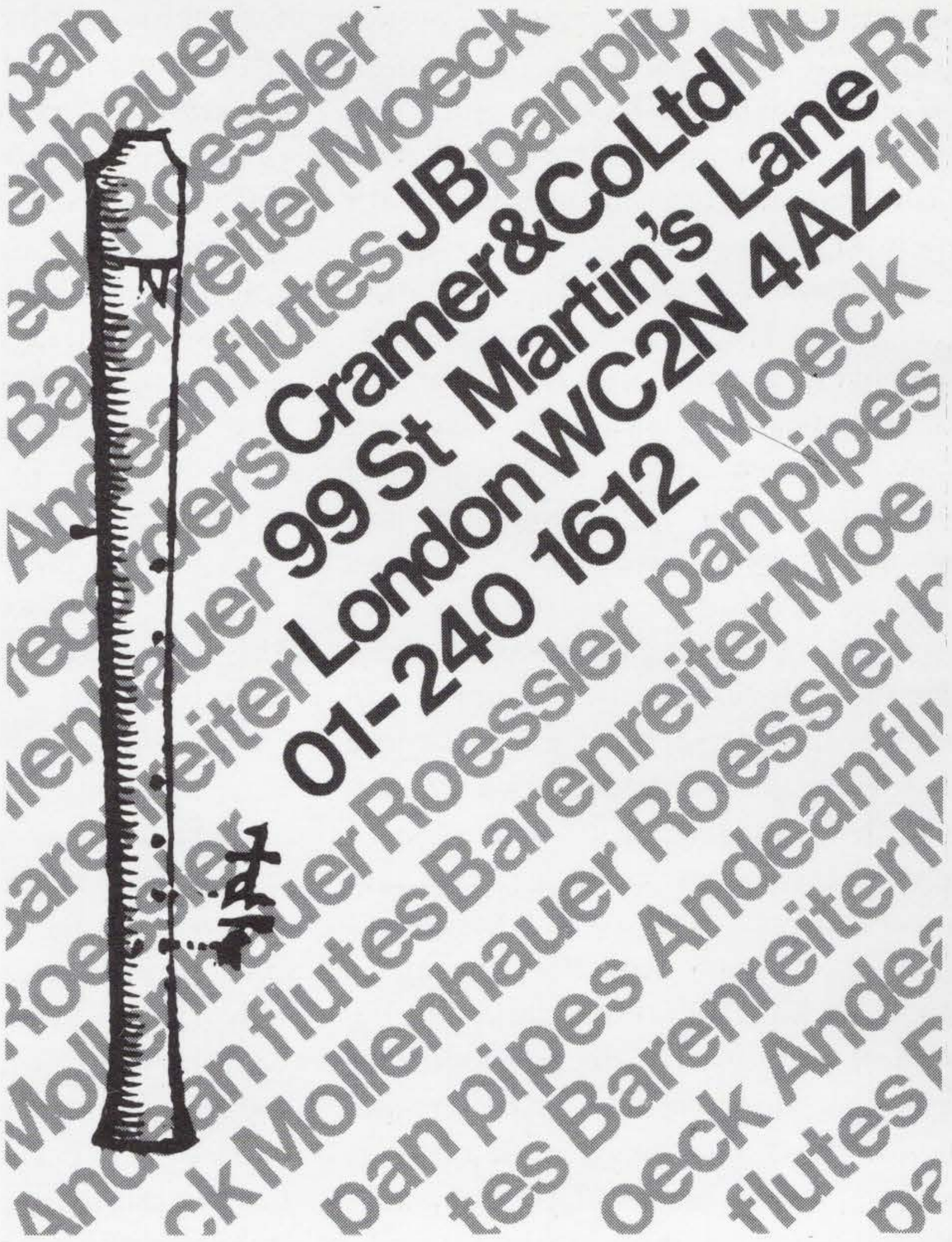

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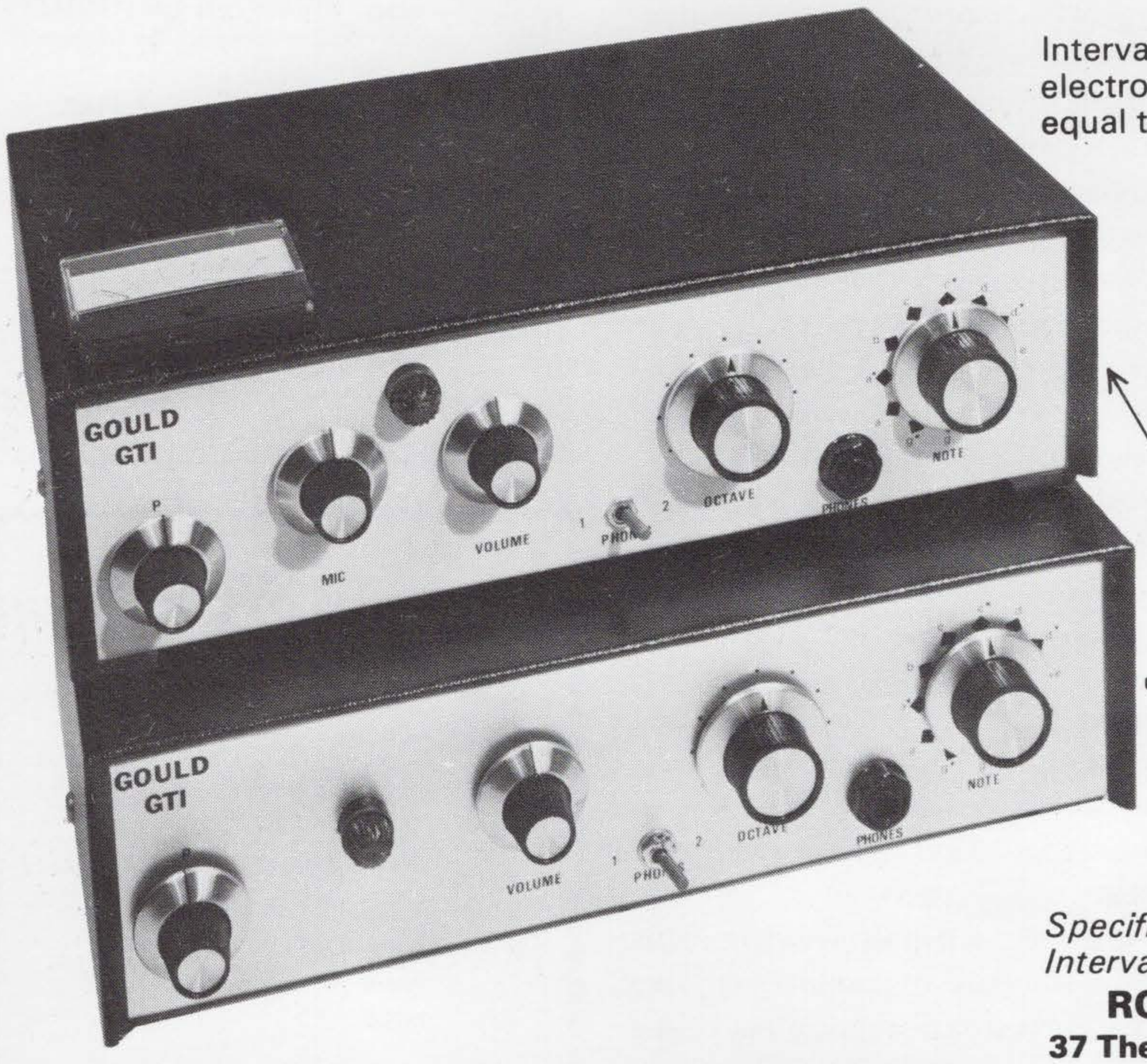

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special problems in translating such technical material. Items may never have had an English name, or an existing English name may never have been recognizably recorded, or a known early English name may be so different from the closest modern equivalent that the use of either on its own could be misleading. Even aside from such pitfalls, such a translation can be of little value to other than specialists unless function is made clear. Such help to the reader is only occasionally offered here.

Even a specialist in one type of 18th-century instrument would not be able to elucidate all aspects of his specialization that are covered, and so the elucidation of the whole facsimile is a hopeless task for one person, especially if he is not an 18th-century instrument specialist. The five plates relevant to the harpsichord are reproduced in Hubbard's *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* with similar English translations of the names of marked items. Hubbard has done the kind of job we would hope for in the rest, indicating what we understand today (including probable errors in the original) and what has yet to be elucidated. A comparison shows this book's serious limitations. A proper scholarly study of the rest of these most interesting engravings has yet to be done.

Though let this not deter the purchaser. It beats the Forni facsimile in size, clarity of printing, price (Forni's is 9,500 lire) and the translation which, though not brilliant, is certainly useful. It is a limited edition of 500 copies and I am buying my dozen copies for Christmas presents now before you see this.

EPHRAIM SEGERMAN

Carel Hacquart (1640-1701?): een biographische bijdrage: het werk

PIETER ANDRIESSEN

Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, 1974, [no price given]

Carel Hacquart or Hakkart, born Bruges, died probably in the Hague, first organist in Amsterdam then viol player to Prince Maurits of Orange, was a friend of Constantijn Huygens and composer of a handful of works. If this sounds like a summary it is in fact just about all that is known about this puzzling and elusive man. Pieter Andriessen's biography, as penetrating as it is, has failed to add more than a few details to the skeleton life. In the event it is the Works that add more to our understanding of the man than the disputed facts of his life.

Although Hacquart's works are not numerically impressive—4 opuses—this is in no way a reflection of the poverty of his style. Indeed, the representative pieces which Andriessen includes as an appendix to his work are a complete revelation of subtle musicianship in the interweaving of Italian, French and English styles to such a degree that Hacquart must surely have been a man of extremely wide musical and cultural experience.

The first important recorded incident in Hacquart's life is the publication in Amsterdam in 1674 *sumptibus auctoris* of a set of ten *cantionae sacrae*. The texts are taken from biblical sources and most unusually from Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi*.

The publication of *Harmonia Parnassia* in 1686 (Utrecht, Arnold van Eynden) marks the first appearance of the sonata da chiesa by a Dutch composer. Not, however, the usual Italian type but one built round a canzona and aria (both suggesting Purcell in style) and a *bizzaria* of contrasting tempos and irregular phrase structure. As in some Bolognese sonatas, there is frequently a thematic relationship between the movements, a preoccupation of Hacquart's which was to run through his viol music.

Chelys, op. 3, is a set of 12 suites in the French manner (i.e. preludium, allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue) for solo gamba. *Chelys* is dedicated to two of Hacquart's pupils, lawyers and amateur musicians, who, if they ever performed the pieces, must have had formidable talents indeed for they are of an extremely virtuoso nature. Andriessen finds them rather too étude-like to be independent 'concert' pieces

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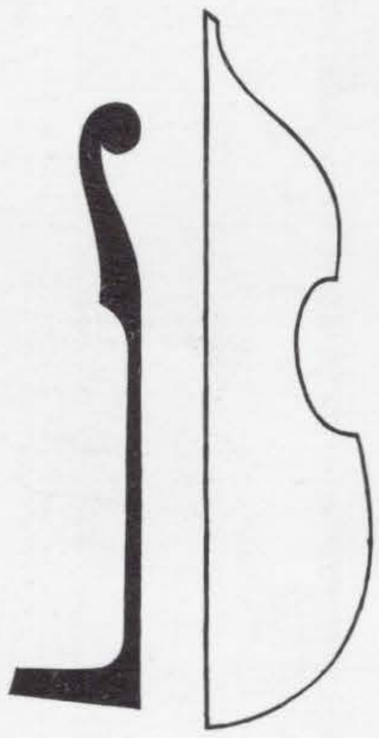

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ditto: *Sarabande* [variato] bars 9 - 12

but if the first suite which he gives as an example is representative then I would describe them as being not didactic but rather more concentratedly polyphonic and Bachian than we normally find in this genre. It is, in fact, one of the finest examples of its kind that I have ever seen, full of character and indeed Bach-like in its use of angular and widely spaced motives and love of variation. Since the style of these pieces is so different from that of the *Harmonia* we may wonder how certain their attribution is, especially since the exemplar obtained by Falle (and now in the Durham Cathedral library) is the only surviving copy of the original edition.

If Hacquart's neglect as a viol and string ensemble composer is to be lamented, his neglect as opera composer is also a matter of great regret. The idea for the *Triomfeerende Min* (Love Triumphant), written to celebrate the Peace of Nijmegen in 1680 came from the dramatist Dirk Buysero who had already completed the libretto when he invited Hacquart to provide the music. Whether or not it was ever performed is another of the mysteries which not even Mr Andriessen could uncover but it certainly disappeared quite convincingly from the repertory for when Ruloff published a *zangspel* by Pijper in 1798 he called it 'the first taste of opera in our mother tongue'.

For his painstaking research in many a blind alley, admirable clarity of layout, thorough commentaries on the musical styles and above all inclusion of large-scale examples, Pieter Andriessen deserves much praise. It is to be hoped that Mr Andriessen will go on to produce complete editions of the choral and instrumental works much deserving of performance and of which few are presently available. The expense and difficulties of translation for academic works in minority languages cannot be overlooked but I cannot think of many Dutch works this decade which have a prior claim.

I. R. PARKER

Le luth et sa musique:
Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1957

Congress report edited by Jean Jacquot
Revised 2nd edn, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris, 1976, Fr.59.00

In nearly 20 years since its appearance this congress report has become required reading for anyone interested in the lute or its history: many of the essays have become classics, among them John Ward on vihuela pitches, Geneviève Thibault on her own early-16th-century lute manuscript, several articles on technique according to the earlier tutors and the discussions of the various possible ways of editing lute music. In the revised edition a few errors in the musical examples have been corrected and the final summary has been replaced with an extremely interesting 20-page essay in which Jacquot outlines the progress of lute scholarship since the congress.

D.F.

The Register of Early Music 1977

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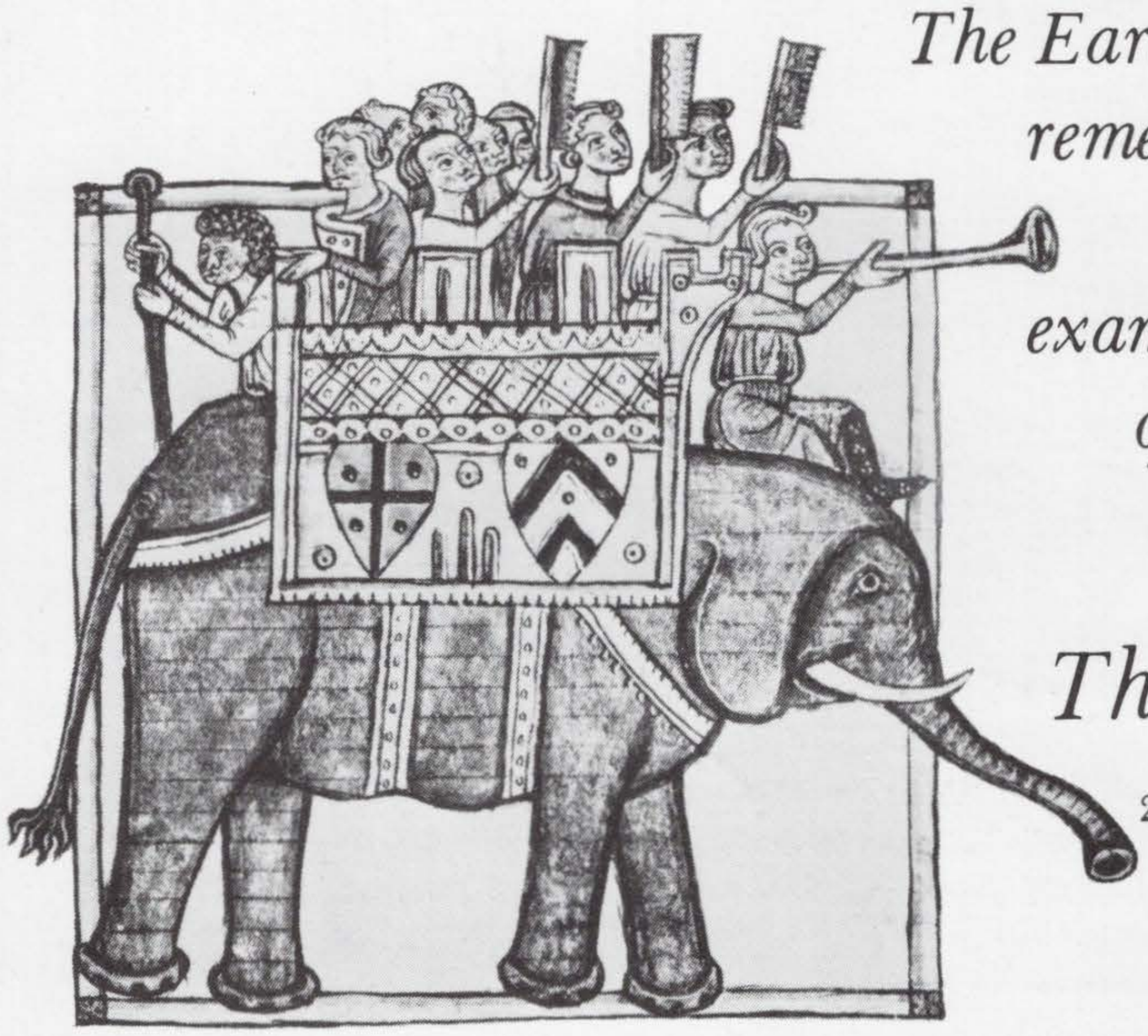

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MUSIC

Madrigals, Songs and Canons
WILLIAM BYRD
Edited by Philip Brett
Stainer & Bell, 1976 (*The Byrd Edition*, 16), £15

The history of Byrd's complete works in modern editions has been a complicated one. Fellowes's *Collected Vocal Works* in 17 volumes was begun in 1937 and changed its title to *Collected Works* in 1950 with the publication of three concluding volumes of keyboard music. In 1962 a programme of revision was begun by Thurston Dart involving retouching the original plates with corrections and essential additional information. This not altogether satisfactory approach was feasible for those volumes deriving exclusively from a printed source, but totally inadequate for volumes compiled from manuscript sources. Thus volumes 18 to 20 were superseded by an entirely new edition by Alan Brown of the keyboard music (*Musica Britannica*, 27 and 28), and volumes 17 (Consort Music) and 15 (Consort Songs) were edited afresh by Kenneth Elliott and Philip Brett, respectively. Now a new edition is announced, under the general supervision of Philip Brett, incorporating the re-edited volumes 15 and 17, but excluding the keyboard music. The present volume is the first to bear the exclusive sounding heading 'The Byrd Edition' (in practice I am sure it will be widely known as 'The *New* Byrd Edition'), and in due course volumes 1 to 14 will appear, following broadly the same plan as the old edition, but otherwise having no connection with Fellowes.

It must be said straight away that this volume is no mere touching up of its counterpart in the old Fellowes edition; in fact its contents are almost completely different. The original volume 16 was a rather desultory affair consisting of 'Additional Madrigals' (so-called), dozens of canons and rounds of doubtful pedigree, and a depressing range of fragments. In the new edition several of these compositions are transferred to more appropriate places. For example, some of the 'additional madrigals' turn out to be consort songs and therefore now appear in volume 15; fragmentary motets, services and anthems have also disappeared and presumably will be printed where they belong in the new volumes 8 to 11.

The greater part of the present volume is devoted to 25 songs revised by Byrd for publication in 1588 and 1589 in the form of part-songs and available as such in modern editions, but only now published in their original versions after contemporary manuscript sources. They were all conceived for one voice and four instruments (presumably viols), and it was purely commercial expedient which caused Byrd to add words to the instrumental parts for publication. Although in most cases the musical alterations are slight the effect of adding words is sometimes damaging. It is not that the instrumental parts are unidiomatic for voices; far from it, they are all eminently singable. Neither can it be denied that Byrd's vocal adaptations are characteristically sensitive and skilful. But inevitably small changes have had to be made in the shape of the instrumental lines in the interests of correct verbal accentuation, and the instrumental phrase lengths do not always coincide with those of the words. Both aspects produce musical inconsistencies in the prints which are obvious even when no original consort song version happens to have survived, and no performer wishing to get to the heart of Byrd's music would choose to perform them as five-part vocal pieces. It would, of course, be 'authentic' to do so, because

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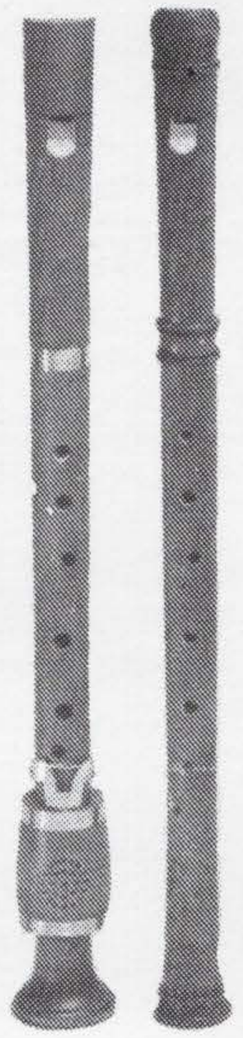

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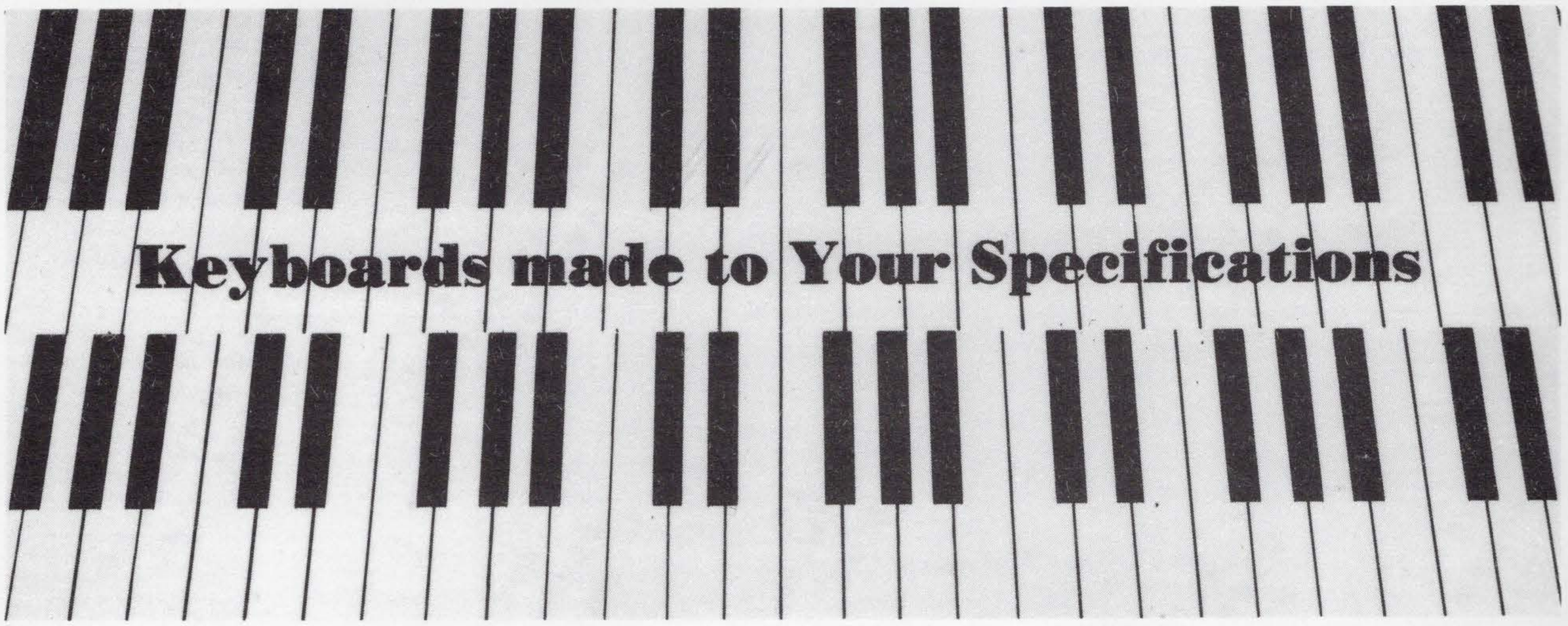

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the songs were indeed performed that way in Byrd's own time, but we should not be blinded to the value of the original versions simply because they did not at first constitute a viable publishing proposition. In view of all that it seems incredible that we have waited so long to have this fine repertory in print.

The six pieces which open the volume are miscellaneous in character, as indicated by their heading 'Madrigals and partsongs from printed collections and manuscripts'. The first is a setting of two stanzas from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in English translation, transcribed from Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588). Its second part does not appear in sources other than those deriving from Yonge's print, and as the editor points out there is reason to believe that Byrd set the English translation, not the original. The first part of this setting, however, hardly merits a place in *The Byrd Edition*. We already have Byrd's original setting of the Italian text, *La Verginella*, as a consort song (no. 19 in the present edition) and his own adaptation of the song for five voices in his 1588 print. Here we have someone else's partially successful adaptation of the song to English words, and a rather faulty musical text. The two factors combine to give some downright ugly moments, for example bars 48-9 and 57. Since we already have authentic Byrd versions of this piece it was right of the editor not to attempt to correct Yonge's inelegancies, but a clear caveat should have been given (preferably as a footnote, not relegated to the commentary) absolving Byrd from any responsibility. This section also includes a brave and stylish attempt at completing the three missing inner parts of the six-part *Gratification unto Master John Case* (only one voice was known to Fellowes), and there is one new discovery, a short chorus which was perhaps used with the printed song *What pleasure have great princes?* (1588) on some special occasion.

Later in the volume Byrd's two authentic canons are printed, the 'two in one' from Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597), and the joint 'six in one' and 'four in two' from the Baldwin manuscripts at Christ Church, Oxford; and what a pity Mr Anthony Roberts's ingenious solution to the latter (*Musical Times*, cxvi, 1975, p. 423) appeared too late for inclusion. The edition concludes with the incipits of 14 fragmentary songs.

The editorial standards bode well for the rest of the series. A fully critical approach is adopted towards the text, with ample supporting information for both scholar and performer in the Preface, in footnotes and in the List of Sources and Textual Commentary. Many difficult decisions have to be taken in establishing texts by 16th-century composers, especially when the collation of several manuscripts is involved. The decision to conflate manuscript sources (as opposed to selecting a single 'copy text') seems right for this particular repertory. One scribe may copy extremely accurately, but from different sources of varying quality; another scribe may make consistently acceptable copies by emending his sources here and there; a third may belong to a later generation and be rather careless, yet preserve some feature which an earlier and more 'authoritative' scribe happened to get wrong. Such complex situations require a flexible approach on the part of the editor, combined with sound judgement based on a thorough knowledge of the sources and the style of the composer concerned. Occasionally one could wish for a note in the textual commentary to be transferred to the foot of the page to which it relates, particularly in cases where there is real doubt about the composer's intentions. An example occurs in *O that most rare breast* (no. 28), bar 63: the last note of the bass is F in the manuscript version, G in the later printed version; who can decide whether one or the other is a simple error, whether the manuscript reading represents a copyist's editorial alteration, or whether Byrd himself revised the passage? Such delicate choices need to be drawn to the reader's attention more prominently than those for which we can simply rely on the editor's judgement.

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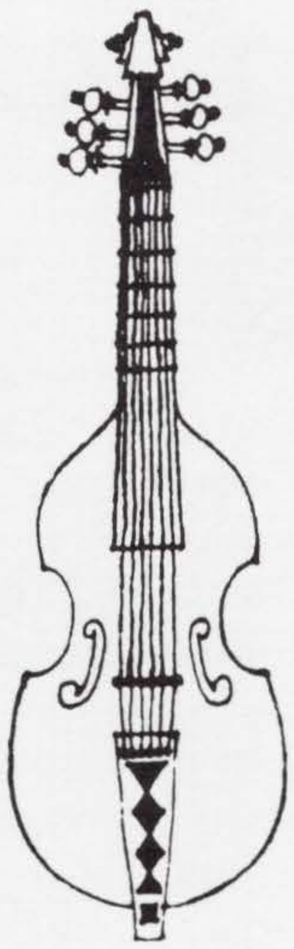

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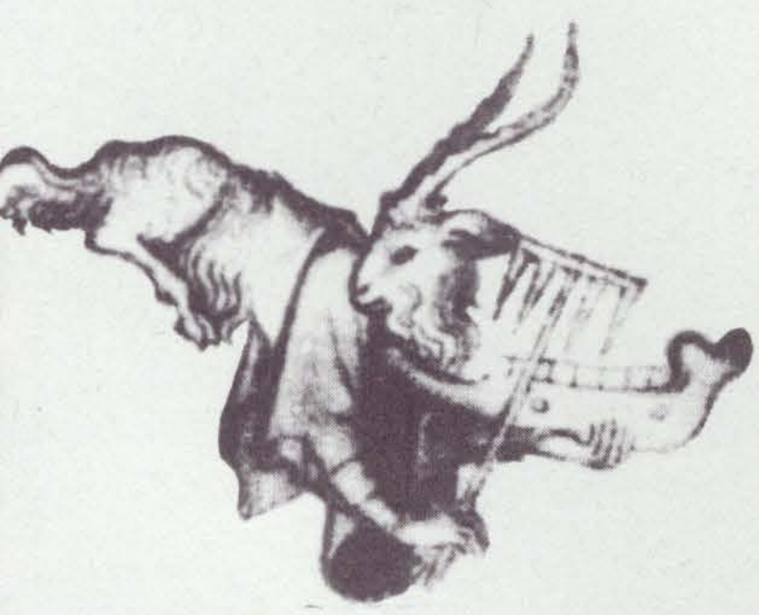

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B	baroque bassoon
BC	baroque cello
BP	various bagpipes
BT	baryton
BV	baroque viola
C	conductor, director
CI	cittern
CM	cornamuse
CN	cornett, zink
CR	crumhorn
CT	chitarrone, theorbo
D	curtal, dulcian
E	editing, arranging, transcribing, etc
EB	early brass
EC	early clarinet, chalumeau, basset horn
ED	early dancing
EN	ensemble
ES	early stringed instrument
EW	early wind
FB	baroque flute
FD	fiddle/fidel
FR	renaissance flute
FI	folk instrument
GB	baroque guitar
GH	gemshorn
GR	renaissance guitar
H	harp
HG	hurdy-gurdy
I	iconographer
KH	harpsichord, etc
KL	clavichord
KO	organ, regal, portative, etc
KP	early piano, fortepiano, etc
KT	kortholt
L	lute
MB	maker of brass
MBS	maker of bowed instr
MK	maker of keyboard instr
MO	organ builder
MP	maker of percussion
MPS	maker of plucked instr
MU	musicologist
MW	maker of wind instr
NH	natural horn
O	baroque oboe
OP	orpharion
OR	organologist
P	percussion
PS	psaltery
PT	pipe and tabor
R	recorder
RA	racket
RE	rebec
RP	rauschpfeife
RW	renaissance woodwind
S	singer (+ S soprano, M mezzo, A alto, CT counter-tenor, T tenor, BR baritone, BS bass)
SB	sackbut
SH	shawm
SO	sordun
SR	serpent
T	baroque trumpet
V	baroque violin
V	viol (+ TR treble, T tenor, B bass; + S solo)
VI	vihuela
VL	violone

Any other category of instrument can be written out in full, e.g. mandola, musette, ophicleide, slide trumpet, viola d'amore.

The edition is clearly and accurately printed, but somehow lacks the elegance of its companion volumes 15 and 17. A particularly discordant feature is the use of incompatible styles of type on the same page for underlay and separately printed verses.

WARWICK EDWARDS

Responsorial Music
JOHN SHEPPARD
Edited by David Chadd
Stainer & Bell, 1977 (*Early English Church Music*, 17), £13.50

Sheppard's Responds are of an almost uniformly high standard. Stylistically they fall into two groups which correspond to the main sources: the Gyffard partbooks in the British Library contain the three- and four-part works, and the set at Christ Church copied by John Baldwin contains those in five and six parts. Of these the most fascinating works are perhaps those in six parts in which Sheppard's characteristically short points of imitation work to such good effect that all the voices usually enter within a very few beats—and indeed the need to write in that way may well be the root of his style.

For the works in Gyffard there is no other source so no particular editorial problems arise; and Chadd has sensibly chosen the Christ Church manuscripts as the primary source for all the other works. But it would have been useful if he had added a little information on this and all the other sources: the varying opinions as to the date of Christ Church in relation to the date of Sheppard's death substantially govern an editor's decision as to how authoritative that source is considered to be. And to take another example, it should perhaps have been mentioned that Baldwin copied both Christ Church and the source Chadd calls *G*: in *Haec dies* I was struck by the number of times *C* and *G* give variant readings from the main Christ Church source—a point which could be construed as suggesting that Baldwin at that later date had two archetypes at his disposal, reflecting different transmissions of the music, both of which he followed faithfully.

Sheppard's reputation in the second half of the 16th century can perhaps be judged from a further feature of *Haec dies* which the editor could well have mentioned: in Chadd's source *C* it appears with Sheppard's ninefold *Kyrie* and the two together are called 'the best songe in England', while I believe one of the other sources calls the work an excellent song—rare praise indeed, and well justified by the quality of the music.

Chadd's elegant and helpful edition includes some Notes on Performance which avoid both inactivity and controversy. Even so I am still not sure what is the difference between two Altos (in, for example, *Verbum caro*), two Countertenors (in, for example, *Dum transisset II*), and two Tenors (in, for example, *Alleluya confitemini*). Choirmasters are urged to find the most suitable voice when they have selected the most suitable pitch—if, that is, they find the note on p. xiv at all helpful. Accidentals have, for the most part, been left alone, even those from Gyffard, a decision which I heartily endorse.

I looked carefully at two works, which I hope are untypical of the standard of editing.

Laudem dicite. There are several more variants between the two versions in the Christ Church source, most of them minor, which should be noted in the Critical Commentary of an edition of such assumed authority. The ligature in Alto II, b.3 is in 979 but not 980 (references are to the call numbers of the Christ Church set). The ligature in Bass II, b.13, appears in No. 7 but not No. 25. The last note of b.30 and the first of b.31 (Alto II) are in ligature in 979, though not 980, as are the first two notes of b.38 (also Alto II). In b.41 (Alto II) the B and E are in ligature in both versions. The slur in Alto II in b.22 extends in 979 quite clearly over the three notes DEC, though not so clearly in 980. I consider the 979 version preferable and presumably what 980 is intended to convey, and the reason for the inclusion of a slur at all. The underlay of the phrase beginning in b.25 (Alto I) appears in full in 980 (though not 979) and therefore should not be in italics.

Gaude gaude gaude. Here the mistakes are so numerous that I shall have to revert to Critical Commentary shorthand.

7 M slur for GFE♭/ 10 C^1 ♭ for E before F in bar 9/ 21 Tr ♮ for E before ^{2}F/ 25 the cue at the end of the polyphony leading back to this point gives the E♭ and C♯ in C^2/ 30 C^2 ♮ for E/ 46 C^2 slur for B♭C/ 49 Tr C♯ not E, C^1 ♯ for C before E in bar 48/ 77 Tr^2 ♮ for E before F/ 81 M ♯ for ^{2}F is repeated at the beginning of the NL as well as preplaced/ 86 C^2 ♮ for E.

Underlay: the following syllables should not be in italics, for they appear in the source: 15 C^1 '-sti'/ 40 Tr '-sti'. The following syllables should be in italics, according to the editorial policy: 31 C^2 '-ta'/ 46 Tr 'vi-o-'/ 51 M 'quae es' etc/ 74 Tr^2 'dulcissona'. This last example brings us to page 114, where, amongst many other problems, our editor is unsure whether 'dulcissona' is one word or two. Thus Tr^1 has it as one word in bb.73-4 (though the hyphen at the beginning of b.74 is missing) but two words at the end of b.74, Tr^2 has it as one word, M^1 has it as one word (though again the hyphen is absent at the beginning of b.74), M^2 has it as two, as does the lowest voice which is actually C^1 (although the singers may have to resist take-over attempts from the Bass on the bottom line, as the Basses must from the Countertenors on p. 115). It is two words also on p. 175. There are interesting textual variants here too, which should have been noted in the Commentary. For 'precata' in this verse Baldwin (or his archetype) has 'peccatis' in $Tr^{1\&2}$ and C^1, and 'peccata' in $M^{1\&2}$. While on this subject, we should be informed that he gives 'sunt' for 'sint' in verse 5 of the Prose (p. 112). As for the editorial underlay, I hope no choirmaster will allow his Trebles at p. 108, bb.46-7, to sing the '-te-' as marked, but will move it to the second F of b.47. No doubt many of these are proof-reading errors, as are the disappearing key-signature (bottom line of p. 114), the missing consequential E♭

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(Bass, p. 149, b.21), the missing modern time-signature (p. 92, beginning of Bass) and the length of the first B♭ of p. 117, b.87 in Countertenor I. Returning briefly to the question of hyphens which we have already raised with reference to p. 114, I note the following hyphens either missing or of the wrong type: in *Gaude gaude*: 52 B ('-ta'), and in *Impetum fecerunt* 15-16 B ('in-vocantem')/ 18 M ('in-vocantem')/ 19 T ('-tem____')/ 22-3 C² ('-tum____').

Although most of these are tiny, irritating details, I find it profoundly disturbing that a random check of two works should reveal so many examples of editorial carelessness. We all know that mistakes will happen, and it is difficult to ensure that they are entirely eliminated, but the number and type of mistakes in this supposedly Critical and 'scholarly' (see p.[iii]) edition do matter very much. Since EECM seems not to want to be particularly 'practical' (see p.[iii]), what is it to be? Are either scholars or performers being fully served by this edition nowadays?

ROGER BRAY

Recorder music galore

The tremendous uplift in the quality of recorder playing during the last decade, both technically and musically, among professionals as well as amateurs, has created a great demand for more and more recorder music. Quite a number of music publishers have taken up the challenge and produced a vast amount of recorder music which is increasing weekly, nay daily, and which is heaped upon the already available rich material. Not all of this music will interest the average reader of *EM*—as, for instance, the purely educational music (methods, studies, arrangements for educational purposes, etc), also, for obvious reasons, all modern recorder music (however tempting)—so I will limit my review to a personal selection of 'early recorder music' published during the last few years which may be of interest not only to recorder players but to musicians in general. This selection cannot be comprehensive. Moreover, I have not been able to explore fully the catalogues of all publishers, so the omission of a work or composer in my list does not speak against their merit. By searching for new material editors brought unfamiliar names to the fore: more works by even well-known composers have appeared as well as old ones in new clothes, and open scores and transcriptions have opened wider territories.

Unfamiliar names (in alphabetical order):

William Babell was a brilliant harpsichord player. After his untimely death in 1723 an admirer of his had all of Babell's extant works published, among them, as op. 2, 12 sonatas for oboe and continuo 'with proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by the Author'. A similar device was used in the Adagio of op. 3 No. 1, an excellent concerto for descant recorder in D, strings and continuo. The modern edition[1] has been transposed for the descant in C. The name of *Paolo Benedetto Bellinzani* was unknown to me until the recent publication[2] of his very good sonata op. 3 No. 1 for treble recorder and continuo. The original was printed in 1720 in Venice. Who ever has heard of *Charles Buterne*? His sonata op. 2 No. 5[3] is one of two composed for two unaccompanied treble recorders or musettes, violins, oboes, violes, etc, published at Paris in 1750. It is somehow more interesting than the many duets for musettes, flûtes, hautbois, vielle, etc, composed in the 18th century for the French salon. The three duets for the same combination of instruments by *Esprit-Philippe Chédeville*[4] are also better than the average—though we should not patronizingly look down on the latter which were probably fun to play and fun to listen to, especially when played by their virtuoso composers; they were written for a society—quite different from ours—that was interested only in a superficial, unemotional musical entertainment, especially when one could dance to it. Such pieces 'need playing', as the musicians' jargon goes, playing with French grace and graces.

The six sonatas for two treble recorders by *Raphael Courteville*[2] are of a different kind, Italianized English, and probably composed for and played at John Banister's concerts in London in the last quarter of the 17th century. Two Suites for bass recorder and continuo by *Daniel Demoivre*[1] (1704) are actually treble recorder pieces, transposed an octave down, tuneful, elegant, French. French and delightful too is also the Suite in D minor for two treble recorders (or violins) and continuo by *Antoine Dornel*[4]. It has seven movements.

The Italian Society of Recorder Players (Società Italiana del Flauto Dolce) has started to publish valuable music of the Italian past. The six Duetti by *Giuseppe Giambarti* (Rome, 1657) are a substantial supplement to the serious repertory for two descant or tenor recorders. *William Gorton* (died 1712) was appointed in 1696 'one of the twenty-four musitians in ordinary' to King William. His two sonatas for two unaccompanied treble recorders[2] are extremely odd: they use the treble recorders in a higher tessitura than was usual among English composers of his time. (The instruments were not good in that register.) Though the parts are logical in themselves, their juxtaposition produces unpleasant dissonances. The British Library contains more manuscripts of Gorton scored for recorders; his music was never printed. A trio sonata in G minor for two treble recorders or violins with continuo by Handel's literary collaborator *Nicola Francesco Haym*[1] shows him as a very good composer in his own right. His harmonies and his rhythm are quite individual.

Philibert de Lavigne composed six sonatas for treble recorder and continuo[5] (op. 2, *c*1740) of a very high quality. Though devised—as some French music mentioned above—for 'Musette, Viele, Flute a bec, Traversiere, Haubois avec la Basse' they are delightful to play on the treble recorder. Their delicate charm is irresistible. *Francisco Mancini*'s 12 sonatas for treble recorder and continuo were published in 1724 with two reprints in 1727 and 1730. They are the work of a highly competent,

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successful Neapolitan composer. After some 250 years of neglect they were revived when in the same month two different firms and two different editors independently produced Sonata no. 1.[6,7] The preface in the Peters edition[6] gives the amusing story of unscrupulous machinations by the publisher Walsh. No. 8 is published by Hargail.[1] With *Jean Jacques Naudot*'s six 'Babioles'[4] (op. 10) we return to French duos for two treble recorders or musettes, etc. They are what the title says: baubles—if played amusingly. His trios (op. 8 Nos. 1 and 3)[4] allow for a variety of instruments of which the most useful seems to be treble recorder plus oboe with continuo.

Andrew Parcham's sonata in G for treble recorder and continuo became known from Thurston Dart's edition of 1960.[8] No other work of this composer is extant though we know that he wrote at least 12 sonatas for the same combination. The sonata is unusual in form and of very high quality. It has been published[7] in Hortus Musicus (208/9) together with sonatas for the same instrumentation by *William Williams, William Topham, William Croft, Daniel Purcell* and *Robert Valentine*, all composers of nearly the same time. The Croft sonata is a kind of 'Ground' but more likely by an 'Italian master' than by Croft; Williams shows in his sonata that for him typical sense of humour, so rare among composers; and Valentine's sonata has some authentic ornamentation in the slow movements. His four sonatas for two unaccompanied treble recorders[4] are also genuine recorder music. Apart from the sonata by *Topham* just mentioned (in C minor) another one by him (in G minor) has just been published in the USA.[1] These two sonatas are the first reprint in our time of complete sonatas by this strange composer who mixes astonishing melodic and rhythmic ideas with commonplace ones. The tessitura of the treble recorder part is rather low and makes the sonatas more suitable for home consumption than for concert performances. The sonata by *Daniel Purcell*, Henry's younger brother, is a worthy product of this sadly underrated composer.

Similarly to the Babell concerto mentioned above the concerto No. 2 in G by *Robert Woodcock*[9] is one of the rare compositions for a descant recorder. It consists of an Allegro (the required virtuosity of which does not transgress intermediate technical standard), a slow movement of great melodic beauty and a dashing minuet with 'trio'.

Masters and less great masters of the high baroque era.

There are rumours that new editions of *Handel*'s famous four recorder sonatas are in preparation; indeed, a 'final' edition is overdue; in masterworks like these one can insist that even the smallest detail should be correct. A new edition of Handel's so-called Fitzwilliam sonatas—they are named after the museum which holds the manuscript—has been published in three volumes,[10] introducing a new sonata in

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G which the editor assumes to be for treble recorder. *Telemann*'s sonatas for treble recorder and continuo from 'Der getreue Music-Meister' have been reviewed in *EM* (April 77, p. 247); the sonata in canon (B flat) has now been published in one of its original forms for treble recorder and viola or viola da gamba.[2] His trio sonata in E minor for treble recorder, oboe and continuo—a wonderful work—has received a long overdue new edition.[11] Viol players will be delighted to have his 'Sinfonie' in F for treble recorder, viola da gamba, strings, brass ad lib. and continuo.[4] Telemann's famous Ouverture (Suite) in A minor for treble recorder, strings and continuo is now published (after two earlier ones) in three new versions,[2,3,11] all three claiming to offer the authentic text, as did the earlier editions, but differing in some essential details, probably caused by the badly written original. The Leduc edition[11] has now pushed the decisions over the doubtful places onto the player by supplying a facsimile print of the original recorder part (cut out of the score). Finally, there is a grand Chaconne in Telemann's F minor suite for strings and continuo[2] in which unexpectedly two treble recorders are employed. Telemann is unpredictable.

Corelli did not write any recorder music. In 1702, however, two years after the original publication of Corelli's op. 5 for violin and continuo, there appeared a transcription of six of these sonatas for treble recorder, including the famous La Follia. After several predecessors the latter has now been edited by H.-M. Linde.[4] The transcriptions of 1702 have been wrongly attributed to Schickhardt. It is more likely that the transcription of two other sonatas[1,13] which were published in 1705 come from his pen. They are far better than the earlier ones and have very interesting divisions in the slow movements. Two sonatas (Nos. 1 and 6) of *Francesco Barsanti*'s famous six sonatas for treble recorder and continuo (op. 1) have been newly published by OUP.[8] *Vivaldi*'s sonatas in D minor and F for the same combination of instruments are now listed in Schott's catalogue.[4] *'Monsieur' Dieupart*'s fourth suite 'pour un violon & flute' with continuo is printed by Leduc[11] for tenor recorder or violin with continuo in E minor which is the correct key for the violin and flute but not for the tenor recorder; for the tenor or descant recorder the prescribed key is D minor (for the expert: G minor read with treble fingering). On the question as to whether Dieupart's first name was Charles or Francis, the editor has decided for both. Actually, Dieupart signed his name on John Loeillet's last will with Francis, and *he* should know.

From *J. B. de Boismortier* we have now two sonatas for treble recorder with continuo[4] and a concerto in G for the same instrument with strings and continuo[4] and from *Godfrey Finger* a new sonata for three treble recorders.[12] The two cousins *Loeillet* (J. B de Gant and 'John' of London) deserve more attention. Their competent instrumentation and delicate melodic inventions are admirable. It is time that we

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had a complete edition at least of their recorder compositions. Leduc[11] has now produced two sonatas for treble recorder and continuo by J.B. (op. 3 No. 7 and op. 4 No. 4—J.B. wrote 48 sonatas for this combination) and Universal Edition[12] printed a trio sonata in F for treble recorder, oboe and continuo by 'John' (op. 4 No. 2), which is similar to op. 1 No. 1[2] and not less enjoyable. A new edition of '48 Preludes' for unaccompanied treble recorder by *Jacques Hotteterre*[4] duplicates the earlier Bang/Lasocki edition.[9] The same composer's six trio sonatas op. 3 for two flutes, or violins, oboes or recorders with continuo have been published in two volumes[13] and will delight all lovers of French music. The same publisher has issued four 'concertos' by *J.J. Pepusch* for two treble recorders, two oboes or flutes or violins and continuo.[13] They are easy to play and very useful for small baroque ensembles.

The greatest service, however, Musica Rara has done to the recorder world is the edition of six quartets by *J. Chr. Schickhardt* for two treble recorders, one oboe and continuo[13] (6 vols.). It seems that at last Schickhardt's time has come. David Lasocki, the editor of the quartets, has made a brilliant study of Schickhardt's life ('Schickhardt—composer, performer and teacher', *Recorder and Music*, vol. 5, no. 8, Dec. 1976 part I; vol. 5, no. 9, Mar. 1977 part II). OUP has printed Schickhardt's sonata for treble recorder and continuo in A minor,[8] and 24 sonatas for treble recorder and continuo by Schickhardt in all 24 keys are in the press in Japan.[14] His 'concertos' for four treble recorders and continuo[7] belong to the standard repertory of all recorder players.

(to be concluded)

1 Hargail Music Press, New York (Universal Edition)
2 Schott and Co. Ltd, London
3 Moeck Verlag, Celle (Universal Edition)
4 B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz (Schott London)
5 Otto Heinrich Noetzel Verlag, Wilhemshaven (Peters)
6 Peters Verlag, Leipzig (Peters, London)
7 Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel
8 Oxford University Press
9 Faber Music Ltd, London
10 Hänssler Verlag, Neuhausen-Stuttgart (Novello)
11 Alphonse Leduc, Paris (United Music Publishers)
12 Universal Edition, London
13 Musica Rara, London
14 Zen-On, Tokyo (Schott, London)

WALTER BERGMANN

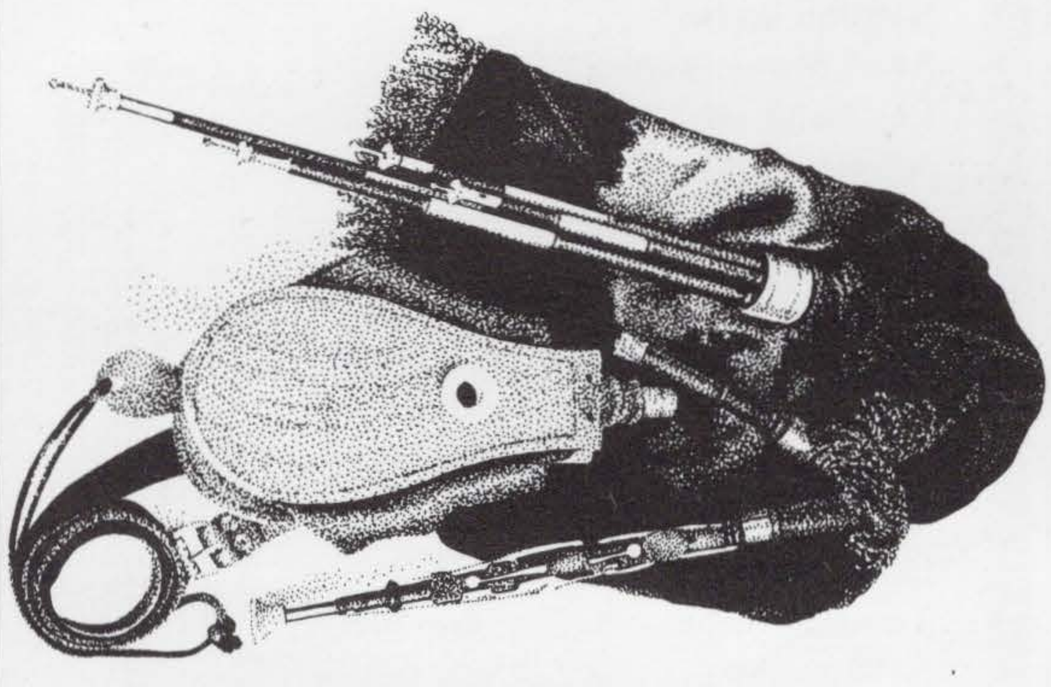
't Uitnement kabinet, vii, ix

PAULUS MATTHYSZ

Edited by Rudi A. Rasch

Saul Groen, Amsterdam, 1974, Hfl.17.50

Between 1644 and 1649 the Amsterdam publisher Paulus Matthysz brought out a number of volumes of instrumental music which have become the most important source of Dutch instrumental music of the first half of the 17th century. They were divided into two series, the first containing the volumes of van Eyck's *Fluyten-lusthof* and the second comprising three volumes of music by Dutch, Italian, French and



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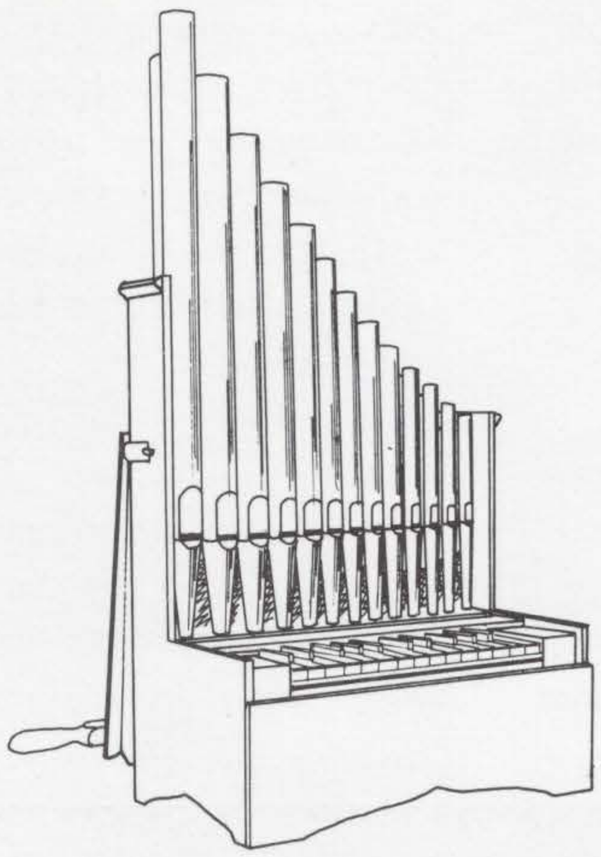

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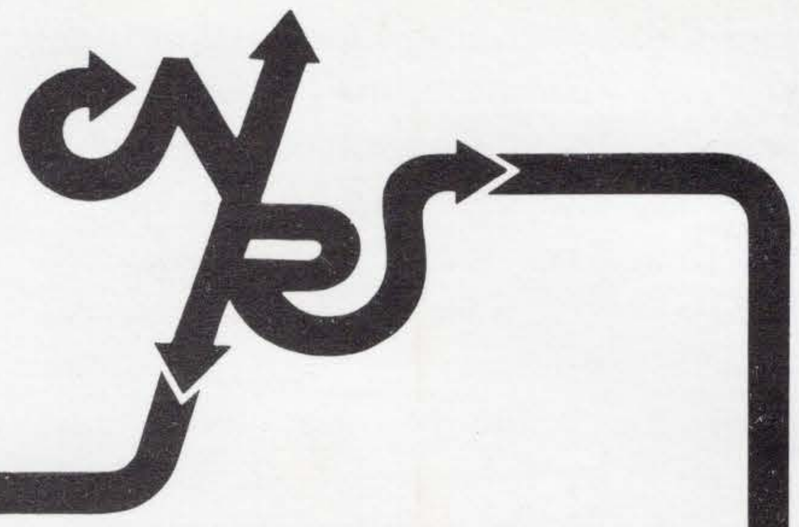

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German composers and entitled *Der goden fluit-hemel* (1644) and *'t Uitnement kabinet*, I (1646), and II (1649). This latter series is currently being published by Rudi A. Rasch in ten volumes and the latest to appear, vols vii and ix deal respectively with à 2 works with obbligato bass and à 3 works by Italian composers.

Of the 200 or so pieces collected together in the whole anthology, few are for individually named instruments and indeed only the viola da gamba is specifically mentioned though some works were obviously intended for the violin. Other instruments cannot be excluded, as Mr Rasch observes, though one black mark to him for not mentioning the most common 17th-century alternative to the violin, the cornett and for which many of the pieces in vol. vii would be well suited.

A great many of the pieces which Matthysz assembled are arrangements of folk or dance tunes, as one would expect from such an anthology, but most of the compositions in vii (11 or 12 out of 14) happen to be independent works. I think it a pity that the models of the two known reworkings are not identified more clearly, say as a footnote to the titles, and that full references to the sources are not given in the critical commentary. As to what the connection is (if any) between a Ferrabosco and an anonymous reworking of the same John Harding galliard as was set by Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (no. 122) and here entitled 'galliarde faraboscho' (Feraboscho in the Preface!), again there is no editorial comment and no translation has been provided.

The 17th century was a particularly unsettled period for Dutch musical life, not simply because of the great political unrest but also because of the Calvinist domination of public life which brought about a standstill in patronage. Music became largely a domestic pursuit. It is precisely this popular repertory of the first half of the century which Matthysz, with no doubt a good eye for business, decided to publish. It is of course very interesting to see what kind of music did enjoy popularity at that time but I must admit that I find very little of real musical interest amongst the Dutch works.

The change from Renaissance to Baroque styles seems to have been a very difficult transition for the Dutch. Various features of the early Italian Baroque (and in the case of Luidhen's *Caprice* the French) had made inroads into naturally conservative people on different levels but the works here represented, coming from the not most exalted circles, demonstrate the word 'transitional' at its worst—unassimilated melodic styles (nos. 8 and 9), badly worked out harmonic schemes (no. 11) and some really breathtakingly irrelevant counterpoint (no. 10). Some pieces clearly owe more to a Renaissance than a Baroque conception (no. 7) while others definitely have a more contemporaneous 'feel' such as the first viol piece and *Concerto* by Christiaen Herwich which have something of the character and spirit of a Turini sonata.

Pieter Luidhens, represented by three works is, I am able to relate, not an undiscovered genius of the 17th century.

In the original state none of the works had a basso continuo nor any suggestion that one could be supplied ad lib. The designation '(gemeene) grondt-stem' is used quite differently from basso continuo in other Matthysz prints. The provision of a continuo realization by the editor proves to be a most unfortunate addition. With the exception of the two resettings, all the works seem to me to be perfectly satisfactory in their two-voice form.

During the mid-17th century Italian instrumental music began to be published in Holland. Matthysz was at the forefront of this interest and included in his *Kabinet* a trio sonata by Tarquinio Merula and eight by Bernardo Berlasca (vol. ix).

Merula (*b c*1600) was, according to Burney, noted for his musical buffoonery, composing works on lullabies, nonsense rhymes or on the declension of *hic*. The piece chosen by Matthysz on the 'cries of cocks and hens' seems to justify this description. Although it is taken from a publication entitled *Canzoni overro sonate concertate per chiesa e camera* . . . (Venice, 1637) it is much more an ensemble canzona than a sonata da chiesa.

Berlasca's pieces, of which there is no other known copy, are also written more in the small-scale patchwork mould of a canzona rather than a typical sonata da chiesa and they are called simply fantasias. I find it rather difficult to follow Mr Rasch's argument that the bass of the pieces is hard to realize because of its melodic character. Difficulty there must have been, but this is surely due more to the harmonic inconsistencies of Berlasca's style than any melodic nature, which I really fail to see.

A great deal in the way of improvisation would have to be done by the performer before any of the Berlasca works could sound convincing to the ear.

I. R. PARKER

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Edited by Walter Ehret
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Taken together, these four publications might seem to represent a valuable addition to our sketchy knowledge of church music in the first half of the 18th century. Vivaldi's Magnificat is the only piece likely to be already familiar to many. Unfortunately for Mr Stockton, the reason for its popularity (it is second only to the Gloria in its ability to eclipse, quite unjustifiably, the rest of Vivaldi's church music) is probably the existence of *two* other

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Colin Tilney plays the 1710 Fleischer harpsichord from the Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin, and the 1728 Zell harpsichord in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. Edition published by the Bärenreiter-Verlag and the Georg-Friedrich-Händel-Gesellschaft (ed. Rudolf Steglich), Kassel 1955.

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editions—one by Robbins Landon for Universal (1960) and Malipiero's for Ricordi (1959). It is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to acquaint us with a previously unknown work. I do not have Robbins Landon's version to hand, but comparison with Malipiero's raises further questions. Ricordi provide chorus parts, and for those to whom these are anathema their full score is eminently compact for practical use. In an attempt to be practical, Stockton confuses the reader by omitting to signal which portions of the accompaniment are simply continuo realization and which orchestral reduction—the whole is laid out as a piano accompaniment, though mercifully without those virtuoso LH octaves and chords of 19th-century oratorio vocal scores! Such signalling would have avoided the necessity for the publication of a separate cembalo part. The Malipiero edition also scores in containing as a supplement five solos which Vivaldi composed as virtuoso substitutes for certain passages when he wished to show off five of his star pupils at the Ospedale della Pietà.

By contrast, Lalande's *Cantemus Domino*, an extended motet for largish forces (strings, bassoon, oboes, chorus in up to seven parts and three soloists), is virtually unknown. It does not seem to represent the best of Lalande, for whom high claims have been made by some historians. The type of structure, with its flexible mixture of symphonies, solos and choruses, will be familiar to students of Restoration church music in England. The text is a hotch-potch of ideas from the psalms. The outer sections contain an overdose of ceremonial junketings in A major relieved only by the affecting central section in A minor prompted by the words 'timete Dominum omnes populi eius'. The edition is difficult to take seriously. It is once again a 'vocal score' and, although the continuo-only sections are this time clearly indicated and the figures are retained throughout, the realization is clumsy. The original Latin text is placed beneath a dire English singing translation. Worse, the ornaments have been realized without explanation of the practice being followed and without precise indication of what the source contains. Perhaps this is what Husa means by 'reconstruction'—he doesn't enlighten us as to whether the source is in any way fragmentary.

Turning to the remaining two pieces was a sheer delight. J. C. Bach's C major Magnificat is a fresh, unpretentious and thoroughly rewarding work, which, a few Italian concerto-like orchestral figurations apart, embraces fully what we tend to regard as the classical 'Viennese' manner in sacred music. Simple, robust solos and compact choruses are fully integrated into a symphonic plan. There is a brief 'slow movement' in C minor at 'Et misericordia eius'. The Gloria begins effectively in the subdominant, and a splendidly energetic fugue forms an admirable finale. The piece is relatively free of editorial problems, and Ehret's edition is a straightforward vocal score. The

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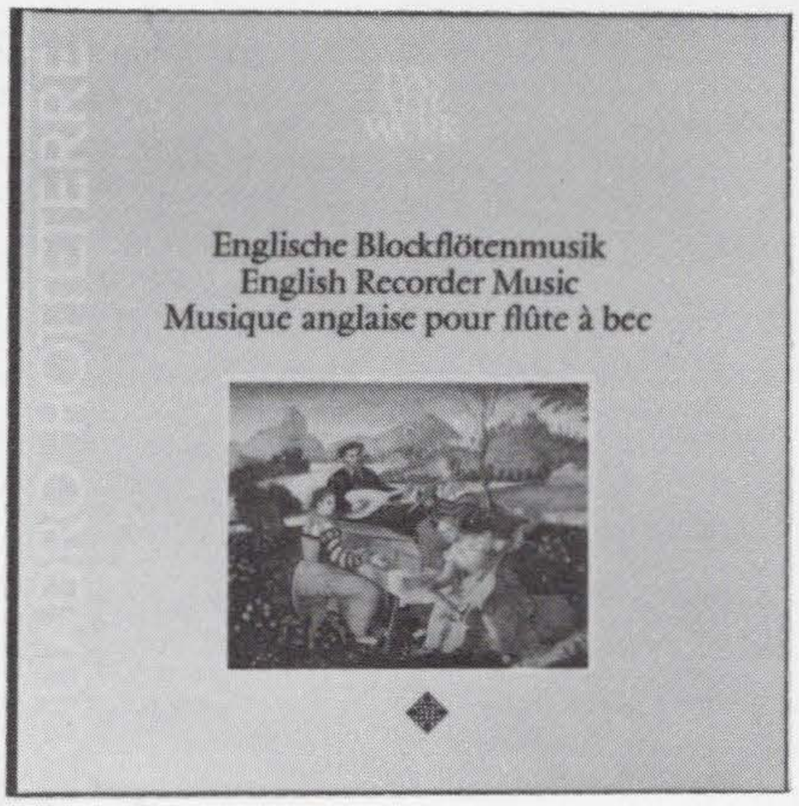

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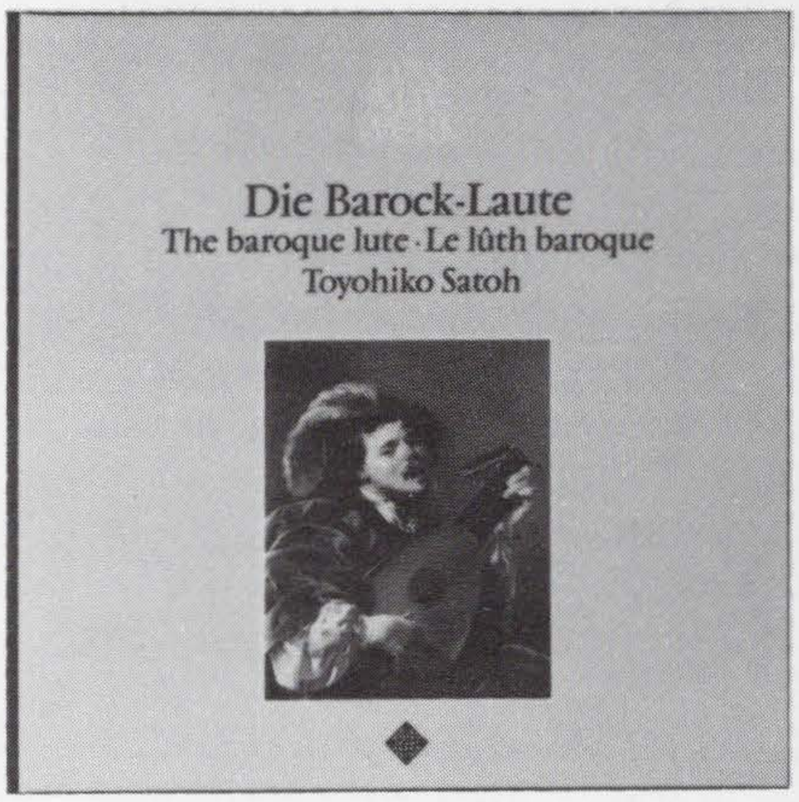

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original orchestration is strings, two oboes, two horns, with SATB choir and STB soloists. The possibility of a continuo is not mentioned—perhaps the full score is more informative. Ehret gives no information about the source or his editorial methods, but the score is easy to read and the work is an admirable addition to the repertory of undemanding choral works.

No less significant is the appearance of Steele's edition of Alessandro Scarlatti's *Dixit Dominus*. Like Vivaldi, Scarlatti sets his text as a series of separate numbers, but each is on a somewhat larger scale. Thus the opening movement deploys all the forces (SATB soloists, SATB choir, violins à 3 and continuo) in a ritornello concerto manner, and is succeeded by a fully developed aria for soprano with violin obbligato. Successive numbers are differentiated in tonality and style, but it has to be said that the final impression is one of mastery of aria form, concerto writing, counterpoint and conventional word-painting without particular involvement or inspiration. The final fugue is decidedly stolid, despite the composer's attempts to leaven the rhythmic dullness with the semi-independent violin line. Nevertheless, it is useful to begin to be able to see Scarlatti's music instead of just reading about his importance (his operas are at last appearing in scholarly editions). Moreover, this publication is a model of how the others should have been done—it is a handy-sized full score with adequate keyboard realization, an introduction and a full critical commentary. In all cases the publishers offer the instrumental parts for hire.

ANTHONY F. CARVER

Oeuvres

JULIEN BELIN

Edited by Michel Renault

Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976, Fr.54.00

Julien Belin was probably born about 1520. He passed his youth at Le Mans, and received his musical education there. From the dedication of his *Premier livre* (1556) to Monseigneur René de Saint François it seems possible to deduce that he may have been a protégé of the archdeacon's, and have been encouraged by him in his musical studies. Although his book was published in Paris, most of his life appears to have been spent in the vicinity of Le Mans. He is described by a contemporary writer as 'a great musician and excellent player of the lute'. He was still alive in 1584, but the exact date of his death is unknown.

The *Premier livre* was his only published work and was the sole venture into the printing of lute tablature by Nicolas du Chemin. It contains seven fantasias, three of which are described as trios, and eight intabulations of vocal works. Unlike other publications of the time, in which the compositions are generally grouped in categories, in this book the fantasias are interspersed with the intabulations. All the works are quite independent of each other except for the fourth fantasia, which contains

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some references to the chanson that precedes it.

There is a very considerable difference in the treatment of the two types of work. The fantasias, except for the occasional written out ornament, have no time marks of lesser value than a crotchet, and no very great technical demands are made on the player. The canonic entries are carefully observed. Occasionally a dissonance appears as one part crosses another, but dissonance is never introduced for its own sake and a fresh and extrovert quality has an unassuming charm.

The intabulations, on the other hand, are enveloped in a complexity of diminutions, as can be seen from the excellent device on the part of the editor of having printed, where possible, a short score of the original chanson.

The composers represented among the intabulations are Gentian, Archadelt, Rogier Pathie, Certon and Sandrin.

This edition contains the original five-line French tablature, and a transcription into staff notation. The critical notes, in French, are excellent, but I am not so happy about the transcriptions. The note-values are quartered and the equal barring is replaced by bars of unequal length into which two, and sometimes three bars are thrown together, presumably with the intention of clarifying the phrasing. However, since almost all lute players these days prefer to read directly from the tablature, this need not trouble them as they will have the unaltered original from which to play.

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G Mar p1386, HFN May p116, RR Mar p41

(12) Concerti, Op. 7
Wätzig, Abel (oboes), Klinge (violin), Berlin Chamber Orchestra/Negri
6747 138 (2)
G Jun p32, HFN Jun p116, RR May p41

Concerto in A, Op. 5, No. 5
Manfredini
Concerto Grosso in D, Op. 3, No. 9
Durante
Concerto No. 5, in A
Legrenzi
Sonata No. 6, in e
Corelli
Sarabande, Gigue and Badinerie
Ostrava Janáček Chamber Orchestra/Dejmek
1101890
RR Jul p44

Oboe concerto in d, Op. 9
Adagio for organ and strings (arr. Giazotto)
Pachelbel
Canon in D
Bononcini
Sinfonia da chiesa a 4, Op. 5, No. 1
Purcell
Chaconne in g
Ross (organ), Standage (violin), Barrington (oboe), Richard Hickox Orchestra/Hickox
ZRG 866
G Jul p188, HFN Jun p116, RR Jun p38

Adagio for organ and strings (arr. Giazotto)
G. Gabrieli
Canzonas 5 and 8
Jannequin/A. Gabrieli
La Bataille de Marignan
Vivaldi
Recorder concerto in C, F6, No. 4
Veilhan (recorder), La Grande Ecurie et La Chambre du Roy/Malgoire
76535
G May p1704, HFN May p116, RR May p42

BACH, J. C.
Symphonies, Op. 18, Nos. 1-6, Op. 9, No. 2
Sinfonia concertante in F
Indermuhle (oboe), Stegenga (cello), Netherlands Chamber Orchestra/Zinman
6780 025 (2)
G May p1689, HFN May p116, RR May p45

BACH, J. C. F.
Sonata in D for fortepiano, concertante flute and cello
Richter
Sonata in G for harpsichord, flute and cello
Stanley
Sonata in G for flute and thoroughbass
Peter (flute), Beusch (cello), Manz (fortepiano, harpsichord)
SAR 4
RR May p61

BACH, J. S.
Cantatas: BWV 11, 44
Munich Bach Choir and Orchestra/Richter
2533 355 (R)
G Jun p76, HFN May p137, RR May p78

Cantatas: BWV 57-60
Tölzer Knabenchor, Vienna Concentus Musicus/N. Harnoncourt
EX6 35305 (2)
HFN May p117

Cantatas: BWV 61-64
Artists as above
EX6 35306 (2)
HFN May p117
Cantata, BWV 118; Magnificat, BWV 243
London Bach Society Choir, Steinitz Bach Players/Steinitz
UNS 248
RR Jun p21

Cantata, BWV 131
Handel
Anthem, Sing unto God
London Bach Society/Steinitz
H 71294 (R)
HFN Jul p125

Cantata, BWV 202
Mozart
Exultate Jubilate, K165
Donath (soprano), Košice State Philharmonic Orchestra/K. Donath
9112 0373
G May p1717, HFN May p119

Motets: Jesu, meine Freude, BWV 227; Singet dem Herrn, BWV 225; Fürchte dich nicht
Regensburg Domspatzen, Vienna Capella Academia, Gumz (organ), Strehl (violone)/Schneidt
2533 349 (R)
G Jun p76, HFN May p137, RR May p78

Brandenburg Concerti: BWV 1046-51
Philomusica of London/Dart (harpsichord)
DPA 577-8 (2) (R)
G Jul p167, RR May p42

Concerti for 3 and 4 harpsichords: BWV 1063-65
Canon a 6, BWV 1076
Ensemble Dähler/Dähler (harpsichord)
D 164
HFN May p116, RR Jun p43

Musical Offering, BWV 1079

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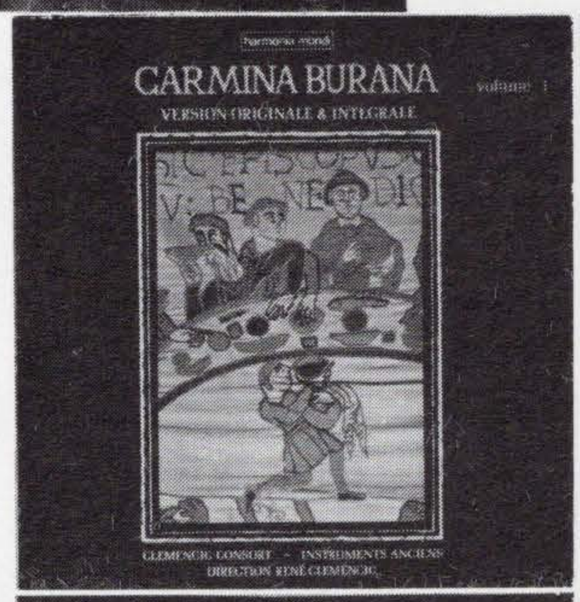

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CARMINA BURANA 1

CHANSONS A BOIRE ET A MANGER

Intégrale/Version originale
CB 200 Bacche, bene venies; CB 151 Virent prata 1; CB 52 Nomen a solempnibus; CB 211 Alte clamat et CB 211a Nu lebe ich; CB 31 Vite perdite; CB 108 Vacillans trutine; CB 196 In taberna; CB 24 Iste mundus; CB 71 Axe Phoebus; CB 119 Dulce solum; CB 12 Proculans odium; CB 116 Sic mea fata; CB 185 Ih was ein chint
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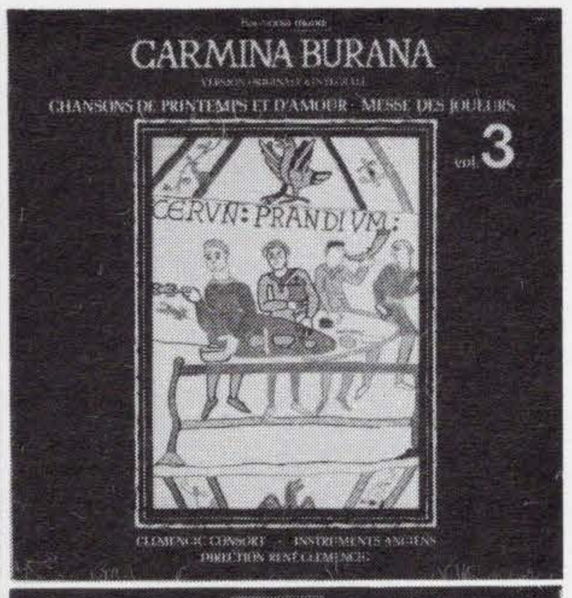

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CARMINA BURANA III

MESSE DES JOUEURS
CHANTS DE PRINTEMPS ET D'AMOUR
Intégrale/Version originale
CB 63 Olim sudor Herculis; CB 151 et 151a virent prata hiemata; CB 215 et 215a Officium lusorum—Messe des Joueurs de Dés (Messe parodique)
CLEMENCIC CONSORT
dir. René CLEMENCIC

HMU 336
CARMINA BURANA II

CHANSONS MORALES, CHANTS SACRES **Intégrale/Version originale**
CB 34 Deduc Syon; CB 3 Ecce torpet; CB 11 In terra summus; CB 19 Fas et nefas; CB 5 Flete flenda; CB 22 Homo qui; CB 12 Procurans odium II; CB 47 Crucifigat omnes; CB 11 Ave nobilis; CB 153 Fulget dies; CB 200 Bacche bene II; CB 8 Licet eger; CB 37 In Gedeonis; CB 90 Exiit diluculo; CB 73 Clauso
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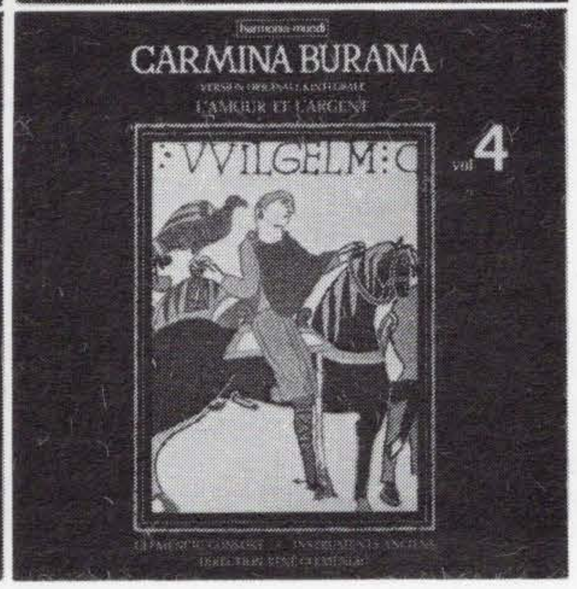

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CARMINA BURANA IV

Intégrale/Version originale
CB 131 et 131a Dic, Christi veritas—Bulla fulminante; CB 8 Licet eger II; CB 22 Homo, qui vigeas II; CB 159 et CB 85 Veris dulcis in tempore; CB 108 Vacillantis trutine; CB 31 Vite perdite; CB 155a Si ist schoner
CLEMENCIC CONSORT
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HMU 241

MUSIC FROM THE TUDOR COURT
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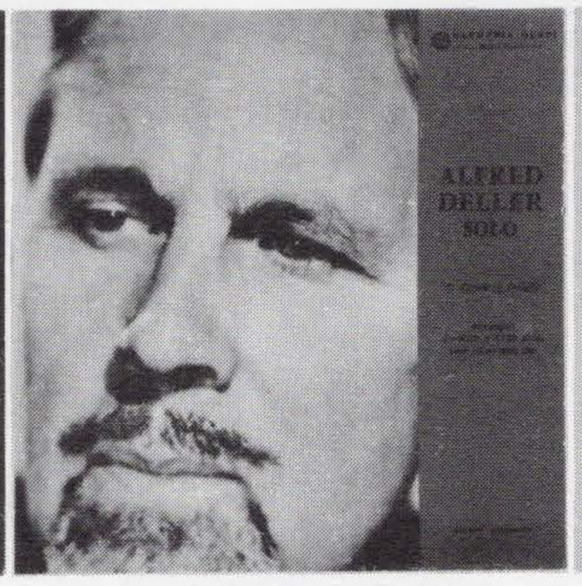
HMD 223



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G May p1689, HFN May p116, RR May p42

Orchestral suite No. 3, in D, BWV 1068
Couperin, F.
Les goûts-réunis, No. 8, in G;
Pièces en concert
Scottish Chamber Orchestra/Tortelier
ASD 3321
G Apr p1570, HFN May p117, RR May p45

Violin concerti: BWV 1041-43
Szeryng, Hasson (violins), Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields/Marriner
9500 226
HFN Jul p104

Flute sonatas: BWV 1030; 1032; 1034-35; Trio sonatas: BWV 1038-39
Stastny, Brüggen (flutes), A. Harnoncourt (violin), N. Harnoncourt (cello), Tachezi (harpsichord)
EX6 35339 (2)
G Feb p1296, HFN May p117, RR Dec p75

Suites for solo cello: BWV 1007-1012
Henri Honegger (cello)
EX6 35345 (3)
HFN Jul p104, RR Jul p77

Sonatas and partitas for solo violin: BWV 1001-1006
Salvatore Accardo (violin)
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Sonatas and partitas for solo violin: BWV 1001-1006
Sandor Vegh (violin)
EX6 35344 (3)
HFN Jul p104, RR Jul p78

Partitas for solo violin: BWV 1002; 1004; 1006
Michael Goldstein (violin)
0666 556
RR May p67

Suites: in g, BWV 995; in E BWV 1006a; Prelude in c, BWV 999; Fugue in g, BWV 1000
Narciso Yepes (baroque lute)
2533 351 (R)
G May p1708, HFN May p137, RR May p67

(6) Chorale Preludes, BWV 645-50 (Schübler)
Mozart
Fantasias: K 594, 608
Simon Preston (organ at Westminster Abbey)
ZK 13 (R)
HFN Jul p125, RR Jul p76

Organ works Vols. 17 and 18
André Isoir (Ahrend and Brunzema organ, Aurich)
CAL 1717, CAL 1718
HFN Jun p116, RR Jun p80

Trio sonatas: BWV 529; 530; Prelude and fugue in b, BWV 544; Prelude and fugue in c, BWV 546
Charles Benbow (Kleuter organ, Paris)
6581 019
HFN Jul p104, RR Jul p76

BAKFARK
Lute music (complete) Vol. 2
Daniel Benkö (lute)
SLPX 11817
RR May p67

BENDA, František
Concerto in e for flute and strings
Richter
Concerto in D for flute and strings
Brunner Jnr (flute), Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
9111 0375
G May p1695

BUXTEHUDE
Organ works Vol. 3
Michel Chapuis (Ahrend organ, Bremen-Oberneuland church)
EK6 35308 (2)
G May p1713, HFN May p120

Organ works Vol. 4
Michel Chapuis (Ahrend/Brunzema organ, Aurich)
EK6 35309 (2)
HFN Jul p111, RR Jun p80

BYRD
Mass for four voices; Mass for five voices
St Margaret's Singers, Westminster/Hickox
RL 25070
G Jun p83, RR Jun p89

Motets: Gaudeamus omnes; Ne irascaris, Domine; Domine, salva nos; Haec dies;

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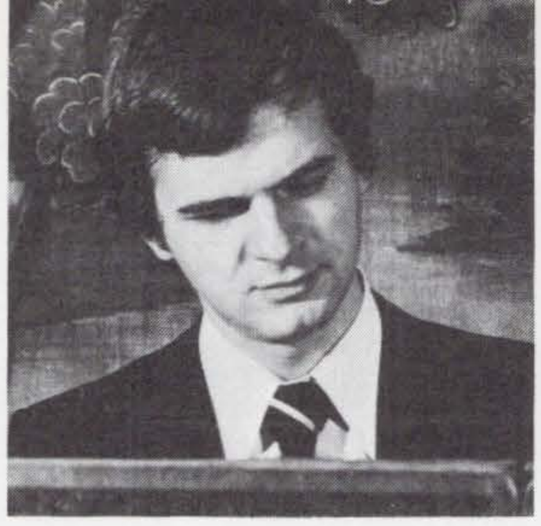

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Vide, Domine, quoniam tribular; Ave verum corpus
Tallis
Lamentations of Jeremiah (parts 1 and 2)
King's Singers
CSD 3779
G Jun p83, HFN Jun p119, RR Jul p92

CORELLI
(12) Concerti grossi, Op. 6
Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
9111 0442-4 (3)
G Jul p173, HFN May p121

HANDEL
Music for the Royal Fireworks; Water Music (excerpts)
English Chamber Orchestra/Leppard
6580 147 (R)
G May p1696

(6) Organ concerti, Op. 4;
(6) Organ concerti, Op. 7
Tachezi (organ), Vienna Concentus Musicus/ N. Harnoncourt
FK6 35282 (3)
G Jul p174, RR May p53

(3) Concerti a due cori
English Chamber Orchestra/Leppard
6580 212
RR Jul p56

LOCATELLI
Concerto grosso in f, Op. 8, No. 1
Manfredini
Concerto grosso in C, Op. 3, No. 12 (Christmas)
Torelli
Concerto grosso in g, Op. 8, No. 6 (Christmas)
Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
9111 0431
G Jun p55, HFN Jun p121, RR Jun p58

LOCKE
The Tempest—Incidental music
Music for His Majesty's Sackbuts and Cornetts
Academy of Ancient Music/Hogwood, Michael Laird Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble
DSLO 507
G Jul p212, HFN Jul p115, RR Jul p68

LULLY
Alceste (excerpts)
La Grande Ecurie et La Chambre du Roy/Malgoire
76551 (R)
G May p1724, RR May p34

PURCELL
Orchestral suites: The History of Dioclesian; Abdelazer; The Virtuous Wife; The Old Bachelor
Rouen Chamber Orchestra/Beauchamp
6581 020
G Jun p56, HFN May p137, RR May p55

Te Deum and Jubilate; In guilty night; Man that is born of woman
Stour Music Festival Chorus and Orchestra/ A. Deller
HMU 207
RR Jul p88

RAMEAU
Keyboard works (complete)
Scott Ross (harpsichord)
FK6 35346 (4)
G May p1717, RR May p75

Suites: in D/d; in G/g
Trevor Pinnock (harpsichord)
CRD 1030
G May 1717, RR May p76

SCARLATTI
Harpsichord sonatas: K225/6, 232/3, 300/01, 396/7, 447/8, 546/7
Gilbert Rowland (harpsichord)
Keyboard 1004
HFN Jul p119, RR Jul p83

TELEMANN
Sonatas: in C; in f; Trio sonatas: in f; in d; Concerto a tre in F
Concentus Musicus of Denmark
H71065
HFN Jul p123, RR Jun p74

Flute suite in a
Hoffmeister
Flute concerto in G
Dingfelder (flute), English Chamber Orchestra/Leppard
VAR 1026
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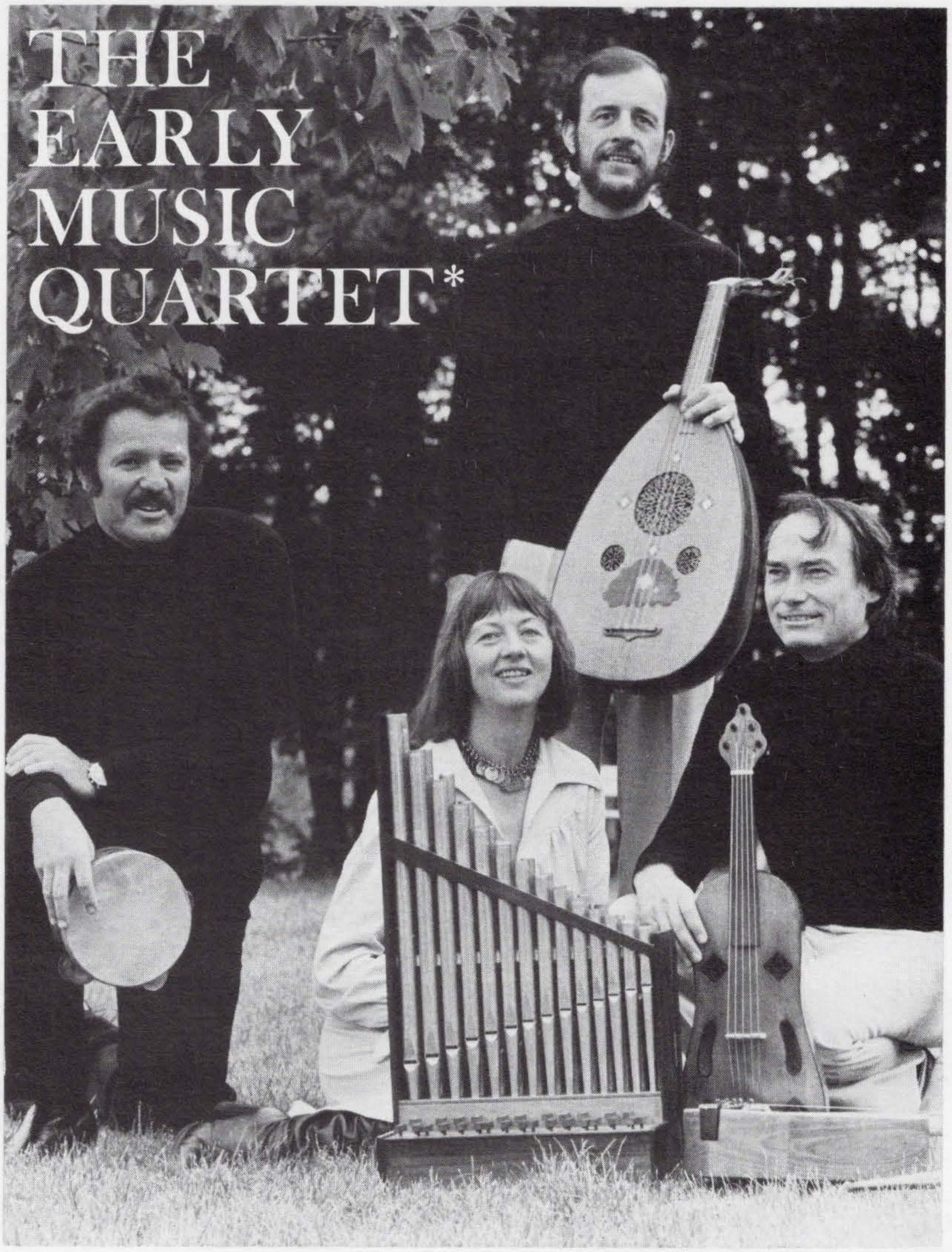

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Beatus Vir; Kyrie; Invicta bellate
Budapest Madrigal Chorus, Franz Liszt Chamber Orchestra/Szekeres
SLPX 11830
RR May p85

Cello concerti: in G, P 118; in a, P 35; in g, P 369; in a
Walevska (cello), Netherlands Chamber Orchestra/Redel
9500 144
HFN Jul p123, RR Jul p62

The Four Seasons, Op. 8, Nos. 1-4
Holmes (violin), Cantilena/Shepherd
GL 25061
G Jul p188, HFN Jul p123, RR Jul p62

The Four Seasons, Op. 8, Nos. 1-4
Warchal (violin), Slovak Chamber Orchestra/Warchal
ROY 2001
HFN Jun p135, RR Jun p71

(6) Flute Concerti, Op. 10
Veilhan (recorder), La Grande Ecurie et La Chambre du Roy/Malgoire
76595
G May p1703, HFN May p135, RR May p61

Viola d'Amore Concerti (complete)
Calabress (viola d'amore), I Solisti Veneti
STU 70826-7 (R)
HFN May p137

Recitals and collections

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SLPX 11720
RR May p71

SONGS AND AYRES
Evans (tenor), Vel (viola da gamba), Shavitz (lute)
Dowland, Ferrabosco, Campion, Jones, Rosseter, Bartlett
VAR 1023
G Jul p212, HFN Jul p122, RR Jul p92

A TAPESTRY OF MUSIC FOR CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
St George's Canzona/Sothcott
VAR 1024
RR May p85

MUSIC TO ENTERTAIN ELIZABETH I
Purcell Consort of Voices, London Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble, Elizabethan Consort of Viols/G. Burgess
Peele, Bennet, Morley, Hunt, Weelkes, Marson, Wilbye, Holmes, Tomkins, East, Mundy, Farmer
ZK 25 (R)
G Jul p211

POPULAR MUSIC FROM THE TIME OF ELIZABETH I
Camerata of London/Simpson and Mason
5447
G Jun p95, HFN Jun p131, RR Jul p88

MUSIC TO ENTERTAIN HENRY VIII
Purcell Consort of Voices/G. Burgess, Musica Reservata/Morrow
Barbireau, Busnois, Cornish, Daggere, Henry VIII, Isaac, Richafort, anonymous
ZK 24 (R)
G Jul p211, RR Jul p87

POPULAR MUSIC FROM THE TIME OF HENRY VIII
Hilliard Ensemble, New London Consort
Henry VIII, Barbireau, Cornish, but mainly anon
5444
G Jul p211, HFN May p133

G *Gramophone*
HFN *Hi-Fi News and Record Review*
RR *Records and Recording*
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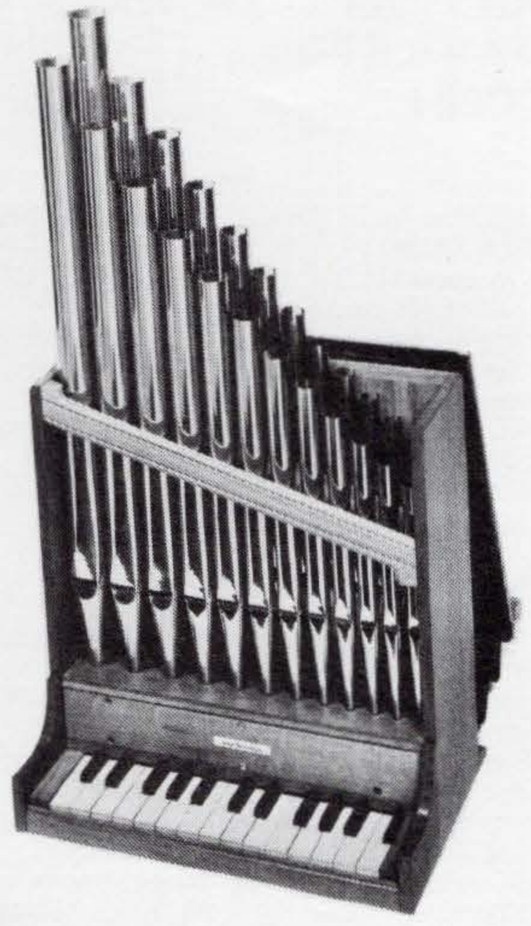

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Dominus vere with Psalm 94.

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Salve regina (simple tone). Maria quae mortalium.
Surge jam Terris. Hodie Maria Virgo.
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Alma redemptoris mater. Lauda Sion.

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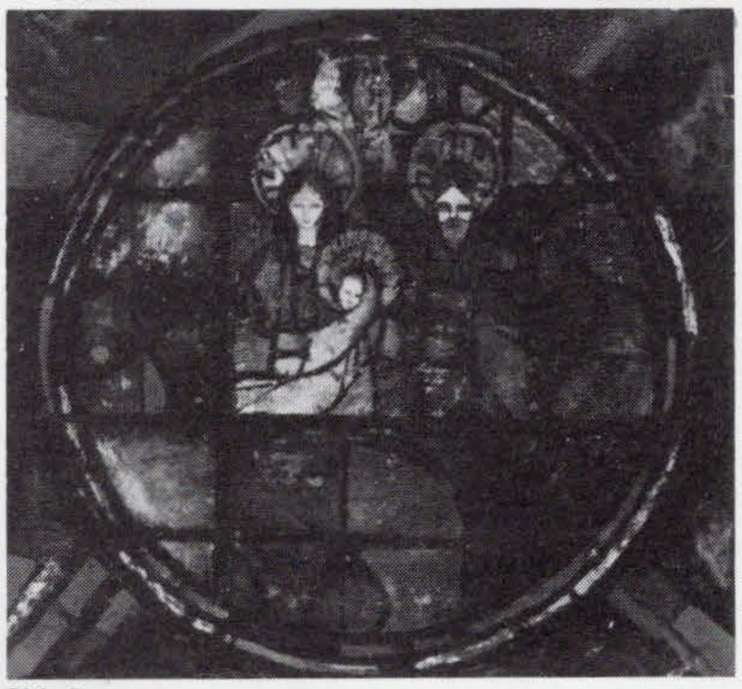
CC037 **Stereo**



Side I
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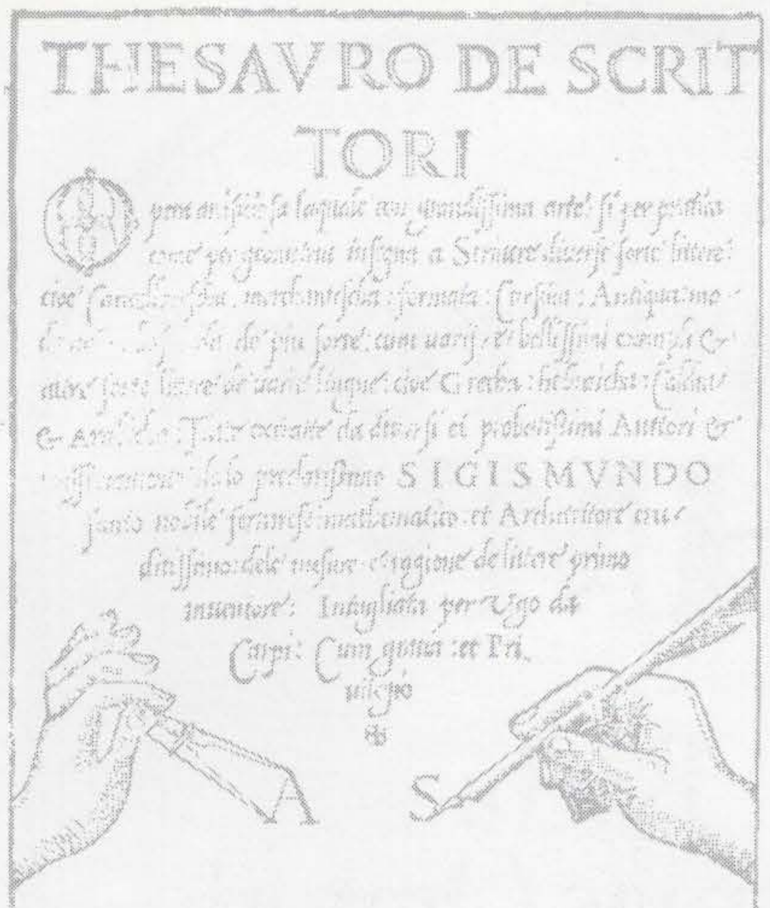

Correspondence

John Sheppard's Masses

Four aspects of my edition of John Sheppard's Masses seem to have caused your reviewer especial distress (*EM*, April 1977, pp. 233-5): the names which I gave some of the voices; the printing of the music at manuscript pitch; the absence of metronome marks; and my policy concerning source and editorial accidentals.

The labelling of the voices is not inconsistent. Your reviewer's criticisms are based solely on the criterion of range. My terminology was, however, chosen after consideration of several other criteria, such as tessitura, function at cadences, and relationship to other voices having a similar range. In *Be not afraid* I called the two highest parts 'Tenor 1' and 'Tenor 2' because they are virtually indistinguishable in compass, tessitura, function and general nature. In *Frences* and *Plainsong* I called the two middle parts 'Countertenor' and 'Tenor' because the former has a distinctly higher tessitura than the latter and is usually above it at cadences, and because the relationship of the two lines to one another is markedly different from that of the two 'Tenors' in *Be not afraid*. Your writer appears to be impressed by statistics, so I shall put this in numerical terms. The percentages in the following table refer to the *Gloria* movements of the three Masses in question.

These figures emphasize important technical differences between the Masses, and I chose my terminology carefully with this in mind. Incidentally, the range of the Tenor parts in *Be not afraid* is c-g′, not, as your reviewer imagines, c-f′.

I assumed that any choir performing this music would sing it at whatever pitch was comfortable for the singers. I cannot believe that my own choir is unique in being able to transpose music at sight. If your writer has had the misfortune to work exclusively with choirs who cannot do this, he has my sympathy. In fact, his statement that I have 'refused to confuse us with problems of transposition' (which I imagine is intended to mean that I have not transposed anything) is not wholly accurate. I transposed *Frences*, which is written in high clefs, down a fifth, to bring it within the range of a choir without trebles. As far as the general question of transposition is concerned, my views coincide with those of David Chadd, whose observations in the Notes on Performance in *John Sheppard: Responsorial Music* (*EECM* 17) apply equally to my edition of the Masses:

'That transposition of certain sixteenth-century polyphony was often practised in performance there can be little doubt. But for the purposes of a modern edition it seems not altogether satisfactory to substitute a new sort of notational fixity for an old one. The former is unlikely to be universally applicable, and it would effectively obscure the latter, which presumably had some reason behind it. It is suggested that where transposition is thought desirable it should be (as it must have been) a matter of interpretation and not of prescription; and the degree by which it is employed should be selected in accordance with the singers involved.'

The opinions of David Wulstan are, of course, very well known, but I suspect that I am not alone in having reservations about them.

The absence of metronome marks was intentional, because tempi will naturally depend on acoustic conditions; your reviewer's ideas are sensible enough. I thought it superfluous to point out that in *Cantate* the duration of the quaver (original minim) must remain constant whether the music is in triple or duple metre; the combining of mensurations beginning at bar 103 in the *Gloria* and bar 122 of the *Credo* must make this obvious. Clearly, the crotchet beat in 3/4 should move at the same speed as that in 4/4, although some degree of latitude may be considered appropriate. A metronomic interpretation is unlikely to sound particularly musical or sympathetic.

I am not surprised that your writer's ideas about accidentals should differ from mine. As far as source accidentals are concerned, the Gyffard partbooks *are* unreliable, certainly more so than the Forrest-Heather partbooks. In 59 pages transcribed from the latter set, I found only two accidentals which I would describe as 'nonsensical' (my edition, p. 8 bar 62 and 22/37). In 103 pages transcribed from Gyffard I came across 16 accidentals which I would put into the same category:

61/12 (G of G major chord sharpened)
63/29 (*mi contra fa*, not as cadential suspension)
63/30 (high F of cantus firmus sharpened, creating melodic augmented 4th)
70/33 (creates leap of diminished octave)
71/47 (ditto)

	Tenor 1 above Tenor 2 *or* Countertenor above Tenor	Vice versa	Unison
Be not afraid	37.4%	58.0%	4.6%
Frences	72.6%	21.9%	5.5%
Plainsong	78.1%	12.9%	9.0%

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76/24 (*mi contra fa*; false relation unsupported by contrapuntal logic; creates leap of diminished octave)
79/57 (creates leap of diminished octave)
93/18 (F sharp in B flat and F major chords)
98/73 (false relation unsupported by contrapuntal logic)
103/35 (ditto)
107/19 (ditto)
108/26 (F sharp against F natural in B flat chord)
111/17 (false relation unsupported by contrapuntal logic; creates leap of diminished octave)
121/48 (F sharp against F natural in B flat chord)
149/12 (false relation unsupported by contrapuntal logic).

If, even allowing for the fact that Sheppard was a highly idosyncratic composer, so many source accidentals are demonstrably inconsistent with what we understand about 16th-century English contrapuntal technique, an editor is surely justified in suspecting the validity of others which, though not indubitably 'wrong' on technical grounds, strike him as being stylistically incongruous.

Many of the controversial accidentals in *Western wind* arise through the arguably anachronistic sharpening of the leading note in the cantus firmus. The Treble usually has the cantus firmus; hence in my edition treble accidentals meet with rejection more often than do those in other voices. Other dubious accidentals in all four Gyffard Masses come about when the final note of a melodic phrase is sharpened in an attempt to produce a major third in whatever chord the accidentalizer thought was being sounded at that point. In several cases (e.g. 72/52) he seems to have been unaware of the vertical consequences of what he was doing.

The editorial addition of accidentals is appropriate in four main types of case: to render perfect vertical fourths, fifths and octaves (e.g. 84/48); to sharpen leading notes at cadences, provided that no more fundamental consistency is thereby disturbed (e.g. 94/30); to produce a major third in the final chord of a section (e.g. 149/15); and in anticipation or continuation of a source accidental to which no exception need be taken (e.g. 123/62). My own accidentals were added according to these principles. It is, of course, incumbent on an editor to inform the reader of what he has done; therefore the position of every source accidental is recorded in my Critical Commentary. Your reviewer's idea of printing a sign to indicate the 'suppression' of a source accidental is promising; I suggest an editor's head surmounted by a halo, or perhaps with a noose around its neck.

I cannot help feeling that your writer would have been more usefully engaged in pointing out the real inadequacies of my edition. May I bring the following corrections to the notice of your readers?

16/110 fifth note in the Bass should be a semiquaver.

65/52 tempo indication should read 'crotchet equals dotted crotchet'.

p. x fn. 5 date should be 1971.

p. x second sentence of third paragraph should read 'Sheppard's, which is notated in a high set of clefs, appears also to dispense with trebles, and has been transposed down a fifth in this edition.'

p. xiii the *signum intimationis* is not, in fact, indicated in the music pages.

I am prepared to believe that, had your reviewer been asked to prepare this edition, he would have produced something very different. I remain, however, unconvinced that this would have been an advantage either for performer or for scholar. I am gratified by his concession that my work 'may represent the music as it originally issued from the composer'—such a comment is high praise indeed.

NICK SANDON, *Department of Music, University of Exeter.*

Roger Bray replies:

Voice labelling. I had assumed, from reading the Editorial Commentary, that the naming of voices in the edition described the voices which are to be used to sing the music. I now realize that this is not the case. Choirmasters contemplating performance should note that 'tenor' does not necessarily mean tenor, nor 'countertenor' countertenor, and should select their modern voices with this in mind.

Transposition. Mr Sandon's endorsement of Mr Chadd's views is helpful, and might well have been included in his 'Notes on Performance', had there been any. His sympathy is gratefully received, though unnecessary. In my review I was thinking neither of my own choir nor of his, but of other choirs which might have appreciated the help of the editor. 'Problems': I meant precisely what I wrote.

Metronome marks. It is possible to convey in an edition the information now given by Mr Sandon. I still suggest that choirs inferior to Mr Sandon's might need some idea of the sort of speed upon which to base their performance.

Accidentals. Mr Sandon's sixteen 'nonsensical' accidentals from Gyffard do not, in my view, prove its unreliability compared to Forrest-Heather. In *Cantate* there are only three passages in the whole work which use accidentals; so the oddities of both have to be assessed rather carefully. Forrest-Heather is, in any case, a particularly interesting source in this respect. When one is deciding what is 'stylistically incongruous' 'with what we understand' etc, one must remember that the Gyffard source is practically the only source which establishes the congruity for four-part music of this type and period. Might it not be our understanding that needs revision, and not the music? Incidentally, leaps of a

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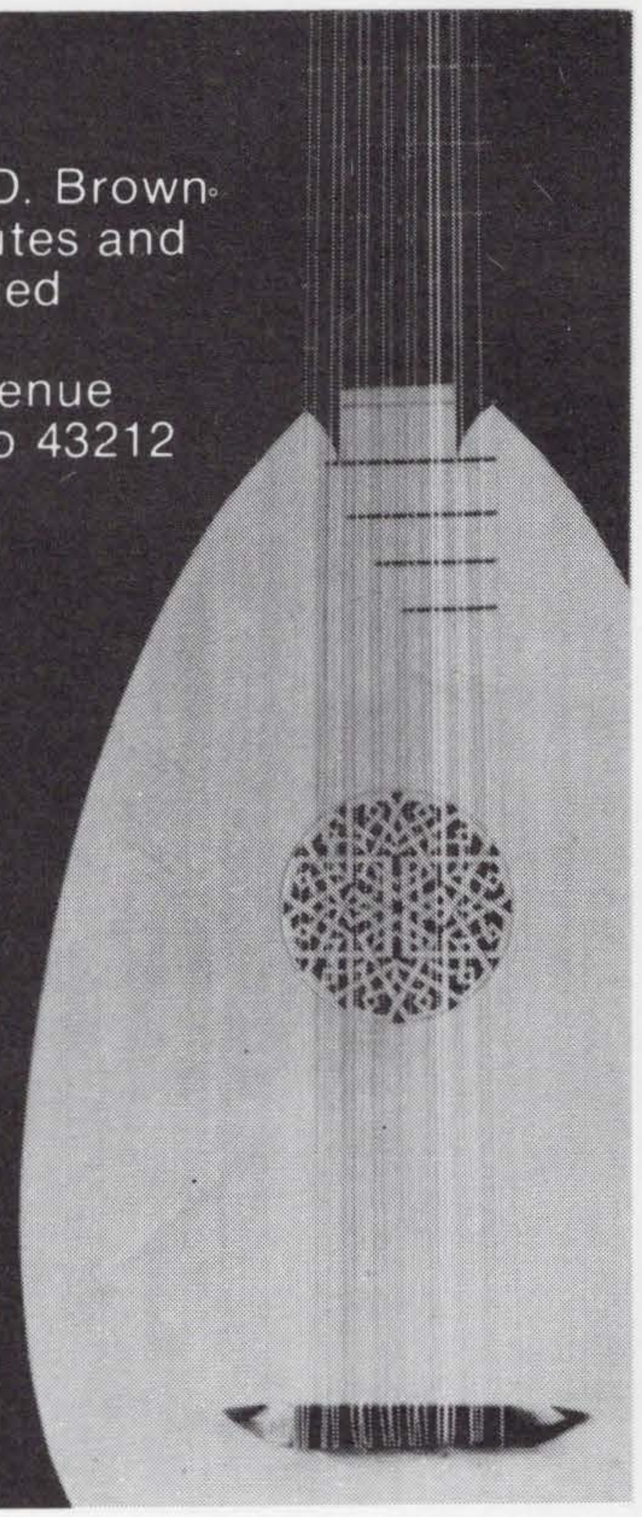

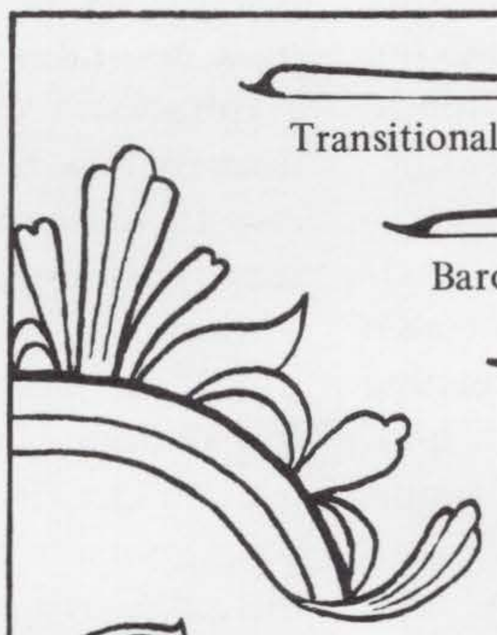

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diminished octave, though rare, are not unknown (as I discovered when preparing my thesis). The high F♯ at 63/30 is not listed in the Critical Commentary and I doubt its presence, though I have not had time to check before preparing this reply.

I do wish Mr Sandon had put these remarks in his edition. However entertaining an exchange of letters may be, it is not quite the same as the inclusion of 'Notes on Performance' in the first place in the edition. That he should take my remark, quoted in his last paragraph, as high praise indicates how much, I believe, we have still to learn of 16th-century spontaneous performing techniques. Finally, while anxious to review in a manner that pleases Mr Sandon, I did find the matters that I discussed more than enough to fill my allotted space, and in the event more important than dotting his i's and crossing his t's.

P.S. The editor's head with halo, which Mr Sandon suggests, is a reasonable sign, although it may increase the great divide that exists between saints and singers.

Authenticity in Bach

In his article *Authenticity and the St John Passion* (*EM*, January 1977) Basil Lam observes that Ralph Vaughan Williams was 'on the wrong side' in the movement towards authentic performances of Bach's choral music. It may be worth noting that Vaughan Williams strove all his life for authenticity in both the spirit and the sound of Bach's music as he performed it, and this is attested by his correspondence over nearly forty years quoted in *R.V.W.: a Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* by Ursula Vaughan Williams (OUP, 1964). A reading of Appendix II: *Vaughan Williams and Bach* should make it clear that he was aware of many problems in the performance of Bach's music cited in Mr Lam's article, but the state of his instruments, the size of his choirs, and the tastes of his times constrained him to adopt a solution other than what we might choose today. In a letter of 1924 Vaughan Williams wrote to a member of his Bach Choir on his reasons for using the piano as continuo: 'I once heard a Bach performance with harpsichord throughout (in Queen's Hall) and it sounded intolerable in a large place. I think a harpsichord and a small organ is ideal for the recitatives (as they do in Amsterdam) but this is out of practical politics—and who is going to play it? Also the harpsichord by itself at once gives an "antiquarian" flavour to the music which we want to avoid at all costs. . . . P.P.S. The harpsichord is all right with a small band and a small choir—but 350 in the Q.H.?' (page 427).

JAMES V. WHITTAKER, *1650 Tasmania Cres., Vancouver V6T 1P2 Canada.*

The Ancient Greeks

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KAI BRODERSEN, *Schwalbenweg 2, D-8520 Erlangen, W. Germany.*

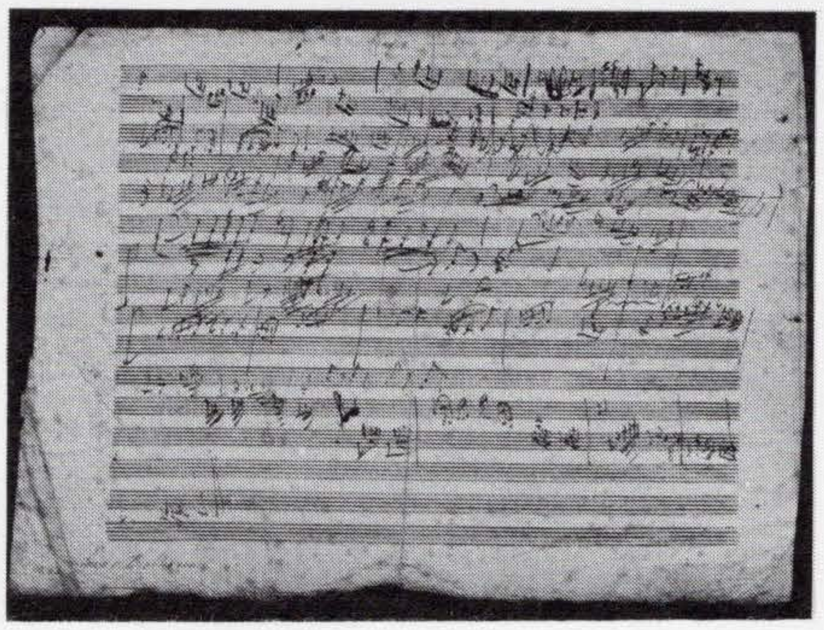
Drum rhythms for dances

May I make a few observations on Patrick Taylor's letter, in which he calls attention to the instrumentalist's need of guidance for drum rhythms in 16th-century dance music, and discuss a few of the solutions to this very vexed problem given by Madeleine Inglehearne in her reply and table of tempi and drum patterns (*EM*, July 77)?

Mr Taylor lists most of the best-known printed collections of ensemble settings of tunes designed to accompany a repertoire of dance forms fashionable throughout most of Europe from about the 1520s to about the 1580s. During this period some tunes and forms waxed while others waned, but on the whole this repertoire of tunes—mainly French and Italian—remained remarkably constant; though this is not to say that the dance steps and tempi associated with them were not subject to changes of fashion—even to local or national variation.

The one source mentioned by Mr Taylor that does not fall into this period is Praetorius' *Terpsichore*. Musically this represents the transformation of the old dance forms that occurred towards the end of the 16th century at which time, in Germany and England particularly, new French dance forms began to appear in increasing numbers. Though containing settings of some dance tunes from the early 16th century and a few English pieces, *Terpsichore* is primarily designed to present the German public with a collection of the latest fashionable dances taught, as Praetorius says in his preface, by the most famous French dancing masters of the day. While a couple of the pieces are specifically stated to be for wind instruments (cornetts and sackbuts; crumhorns), the work as a whole is clearly designed for a band of violins. The current vogue for performing these (sometimes quite elegant) examples of early baroque string writing on a dog's dinner of everything from rackets to glockenspiels, fun for the performer perhaps—even for the innocent listener—is surely to be deplored, if only for reasons of historical accuracy or, indeed, musical decency.

Dragging myself back to the more practical problems posed by Mr Taylor, might I point out that the drum patterns for the pavane and gaillarde —presumably from Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1589)—are, in the case of the pavane misleading, and in the gaillarde quite mistaken. I would like to mention the pavane a little later, when I come to discuss Ms Inglehearne's reply and her table of tempi and rhythms; for the gaillarde, however, the note pattern ♩♩♩♩ 𝅗𝅥, given by Mr Taylor presumably as an historically attested drum rhythm, in fact is a dance notation used by Arbeau to illustrate the five basic steps of the dance.

Mr Taylor complains—justly—about conflicting views on 16th-century dance tempi. It is unfortunate that most instrumentalists today have little notion of the most fundamental steps—not to mention the variants or the important

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element of improvisation that was regarded as a desirable accomplishment in a skilled dancer. The modern dancer is in an even shakier position, if I may use the expression; unlike the musician, who at least has access to a vast quantity of notated dance music, the only aids to reconstructing a lost tradition of dancing are some written descriptions and a few ambiguous dance notations. Virtually all dance teachers are curiously ignorant of the abundant instrumental sources for most of the popular tunes known to them only from dance manuals, and for the last couple of generations they have continued to rely on miserable piano harmonizations of the melodies—often corrupt—from Arbeau, despite the fact that most of these tunes survive in many respectable 16th-century versions for instrumental ensemble, for lute and for keyboard.

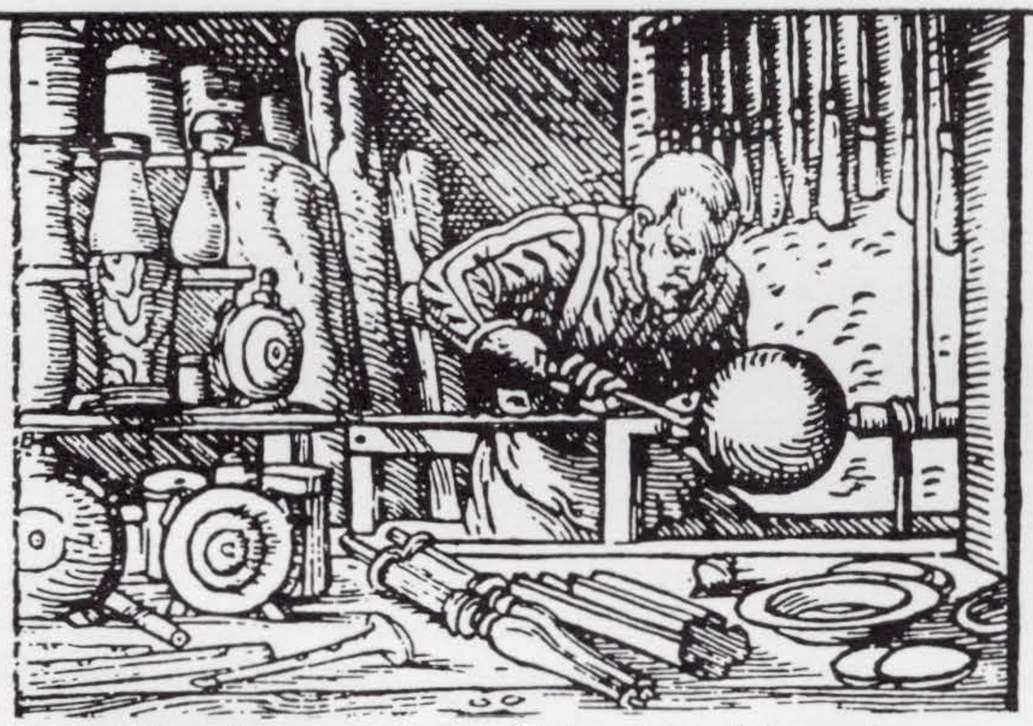
The sad fact is that 16th-century dance is—and always must be—a very inexact science, founded on instructions that are too scant and, to us, insufficiently explicit. From the same meagre fund of information each dance teacher is attempting to recreate what was a highly sophisticated art: so it is not surprising that there is little agreement among the rival schools. I would therefore suggest that, considering the degree of subjectivity that bedevils all aspects of the subject, Mr Taylor should view any categorical pronouncement—even on so elementary a question as tempo—with considerable caution.

In Ms Inglehearne's reply there are some statements I would like to question.

'I really cannot see the necessity to research every dance title in Susato, etc, since they nearly all fall into one of the categories in my list.' Surely Ms Inglehearne must know that 15th- and 16th-century dancers were taught not merely the steps of the standard dance forms (and how great a proportion of dances were standard?). One basse danse, one gaillarde, may differ from another in many important features; one tune may occur in many variant forms; and dance instructions make it perfectly clear that the dancer was expected to memorize individual dance tunes and their variants together with the particular steps associated with them. Arbeau stresses this again and again, saying at one point '... I warn you that if you would dance these branles well you must know the tunes by heart and [when dancing] sing them in your head with the violin.' This is also borne out by lute and keyboard settings of late 15th- and early 16th-century tenor dances. In versions for instrumental ensemble the tune learned by the dancer is in the tenor part. As a tune in the middle of a lute or keyboard texture would be inaudible to the dancer, settings for these instruments have the 'tenor' melody transposed to the treble.

Table of timings and drum beats

Here Ms Inglehearn gives against a single dance form (pavane, gaillarde, etc) a single metronome marking and drum pattern for a one- or two-bar period. Leaving aside the question of



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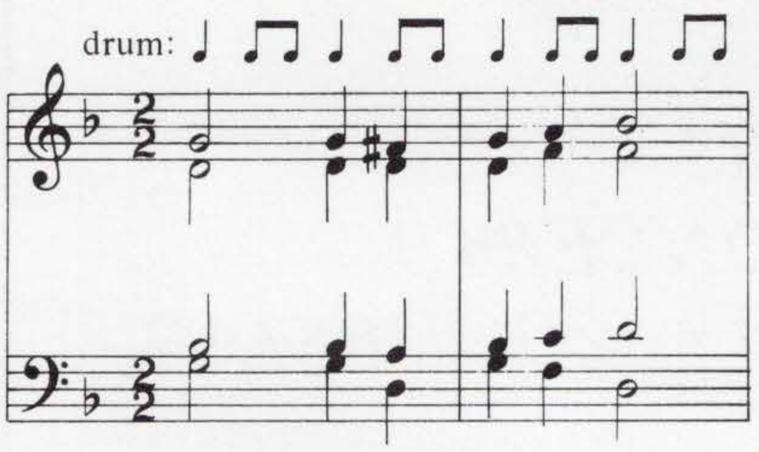
tempo in relation to often hypothetical dance steps, I would like to question the immutability of the tempo of any dance. There must, of course, be limits outside which a gaillarde, say, would be unrecognizable as such, but I seem to remember Victor Silvester observing that the tempo of a dance depended on whether one was playing for professionals, amateurs or guests at a hunt ball. I also find it impossible to believe that ♩ = 115, even if appropriate for a gaillarde of the 1520s (where?), could have much relevance to a gaillarde in *Terpsichore*.

Regarding the drum beats, both Mr Taylor and Ms Inglehearne appear to believe that Arbeau's rhythm for the pavane is ♩♩♩ in a bar. If this were the case in a pavane in 2/2, the presence of a 3/2 bar at a cadence—not an uncommon feature—would result in the drum pattern being half a bar out until the appearance of another 3/2 bar. This is plainly ridiculous. The confusion arises from Arbeau's own barring of the four-part pavane 'Belle qui tiens ma vie'. Here the barline represents the beat, not the measure; his semibreve the first beat of a 2/1 measure. Following the accepted practice of reducing the note values by half, the pavane should begin:

The drum pattern corresponds to the beat, and thus a 3/2 bar can present no problem.

Arbeau's drum rhythm for the basse danse is not ♩♩|♩♩♩| as appears in Ms Inglehearne's table. The gratuitous addition of a barline in the middle of the six-note pattern completely destroys the 6/4:3/2 nature of the dance.

I must confess that the other (invented) drum rhythms fail to confirm my, admittedly subjective, conception of the role of percussion in 16th-century dance music. Ms Inglehearne's remark, 'I personally prefer to have no drum for the Galliarde and am in fact doubtful about its value in Branle Gai, Branle de Poitou or even Tordion . . .', disregards the indisputable evidence that the pipe and tabor were commonly used to accompany all dances until well into the 16th century. As no tradition of notating percussion parts existed before the end of the 17th century, Arbeau's rhythms—for the pavane and the basse danse—are unique. In *Orchésographie* he continually emphasizes the need to pay close attention to the drum rhythm as well as to the dance tune, as the following short quotations should serve to illustrate.

'In our fathers' time the tabor, accompanied by the pipe among other instruments, was used [for dance music , as a single musician could play both together, thus avoiding the expense of additional players—a violin ensemble, for instance.' (The mention of 'other instruments' is not, however, entirely consistent with Arbeau's point about the employment of one musician only. Almost any other combination would require two players: one for the drum, the second for the melody instrument—and Arbeau particularly recommends the use of shawm and drum.)

I'm afraid that, apart from correcting the misinterpretations of Arbeau's tabor rhythms for the pavane and the basse danse, this letter is hardly constructive in the sense that Mr Taylor would wish. Until it is possible for dance teachers to base their pronouncements on fact rather than personal preference (where is that time machine?), or even take the trouble to familiarize themselves with the musical sources, the prospect of achieving anything approaching 'authenticity' in a performance of renaissance dancing or dance music is, unfortunately, utterly remote.

MICHAEL MORROW, *9 Aberdare Gardens, London NW6.*

The correspondence on drum rhythms for dances in your issue of July 1977 may still give rise to confusion over the pavane. It is true that Arbeau gives the drum beat as ♩♩♩, but this refers to a 4/2 time signature, which would mean (as Peter Warlock has it in the *Capriol Suite*) two sets of beats to a four-minim bar. This obviously results in a drum beat faster than the foot movements of the stately dance, which would give momentum and constancy of tempo to the dance.

Confusion has arisen because many modern editions of dance music have halved the note-values to give 4/4 bars. Some performers using these editions have apparently followed Arbeau's drum beat ♩♩♩; this results in a slow beat which follows the speed of foot movements. There seems little doubt that this was not the 16th-century practice.

Further complications arise because, in 16th-century editions pavanes were often barred in what we would now call 2/2, with the time signature ¢. Arbeau's example 'Belle qui tiens ma vie' is one such. In modern editions it is not always apparent whether a pavane in which all or most bars move in 4 crochets is in the original note-values, or whether the original note-values have been halved. Often (as in Susato) the time signature ¢ would suggest the former—in this case, a lot of pavane music should be played much faster than we have hitherto expected!

Time signatures in Ms Inglehearne's chart would have been helpful in avoiding some of the confusion but we need more information about the editorial practices used in transcribing dances for the standard modern editions of Susato, Praetorius and so on.

Most questions would, I know, be solved by looking at originals and facsimiles and at articles and treatises. Many pavanes seem to have been songs, and the words indicate certain stresses; but what is the difference between those which begin, apparently, on an upbeat and those that begin on the half-bar or bar? What is the significance of barring anyway? If we are to perform more frequently for dancers in future, and not just in concerts, we need to know answers to these questions, or people's feet will be all twisted up!

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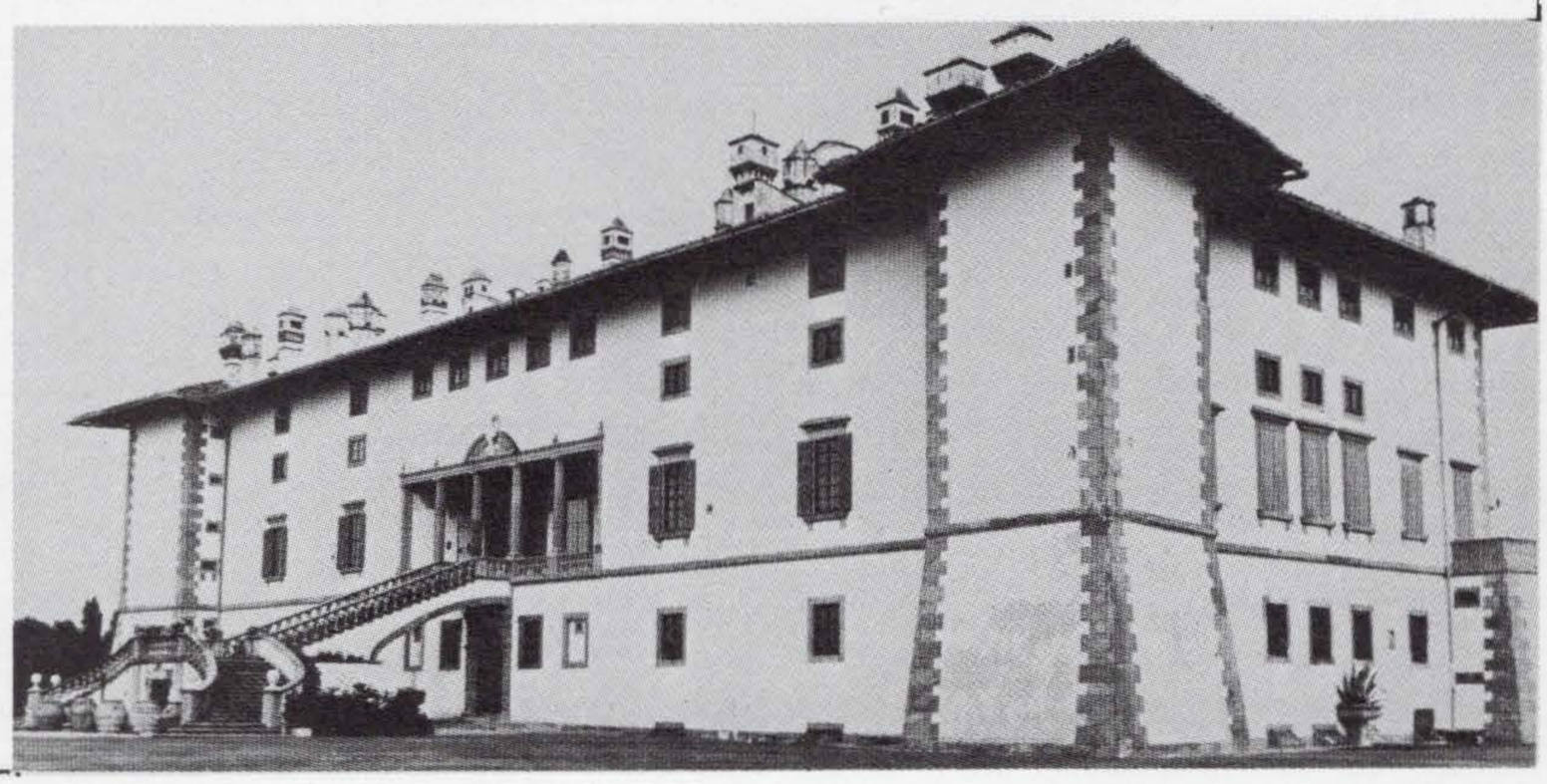


Conferences/courses

Eric Crozier attended a discussion between Roger Savage and Colin Graham, producer of the English Music Theatre's Fairy Queen, *at the Aldeburgh Festival Study Course.*

'The Fairy Queen' revived

In October 1973, *Early Music* printed an excellent study of the Shakespeare-Purcell *Fairy Queen* by Roger Savage, a scholar from Edinburgh University who had previously staged the work with his students. At this year's Aldeburgh Festival, a single performance of the work was given by the English Music Theatre in Colin Graham's adaptation. What could be better by way of introduction than an exchange of views between these two producers?

The eminent Shakespearian scholar H. H. Furness dismissed *The Fairy Queen* in three words, as 'that witless opera'. Two centuries earlier, the comedy on which it was based had seemed to Pepys 'the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life'. The whirligig of taste, like that of time, brings its revenges. Shakespeare's marvellous comedy did not retain its popularity after the Commonwealth. Restoration audiences preferred scenery to poetic illusion, heroic couplets to blank verse, *All For Love* to *Antony and Cleopatra*: they demanded music, dancing and masques in the latest French styles. Accordingly, the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was remodelled in the early 1690s as a five-act spectacular for Dorset Garden Theatre. Its text was tailored and rewritten by one of Betterton's henchmen, and its structure was replanned to allow for an elaborate masque by Henry Purcell to end each act.

After a highly successful first season, the work was revived a year later, in 1693. Then the score disappeared. Zachary Baggs, treasurer of the Theatre Royal, offered a reward of 20 guineas for its return, but the music did not come to light again for two hundred years. By then, William Poel's pioneer work in staging uncut Shakespearean texts was in full swing, creating a hostile climate for a true evaluation of the newly-rediscovered Purcell score. Gustav Holst gave a concert performance in 1910, when a narration was provided by Ralph Vaughan Williams; E. J. Dent staged the work at Cambridge in 1920; and in 1946 Constant Lambert presented a balletic version at Covent Garden. A concert-cantata version was performed at Aldeburgh in 1967 and a staged version at the London Opera Centre under James Robertson in 1974. James Robertson in 19??.

In Roger Savage's view, *The Fairy Queen* is neither a corruption of Shakespeare's original, nor what Constant Lambert called a 'seventeenth century hotch-potch': it is 'a semi-independent creation' that explores the basic themes and characters of the *Dream* in terms of a society, a language and a theatre radically transformed since Elizabethan times. The length and scope of Savage's exposition left Colin Graham with little more to do than to describe the practical difficulties of staging *The Fairy Queen* in a Silver Jubilee version that retained all but eight of the original 58 Purcellian numbers.

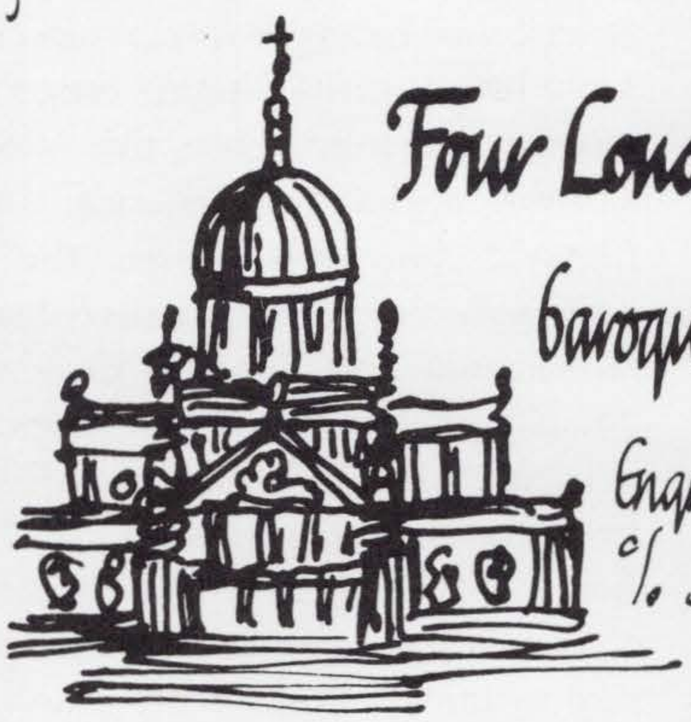
ERIC CROZIER

Lowlands visitors

Early this year musicians in North America were twice blessed with visits by some of the most eminent early-music performers from Europe's lowlands. Jaap Schröder (Amsterdam) came to that old Dutch colony of Nieuw Amsterdam, more recently New York, for a two-day January workshop in the performance of baroque violin music. The major purpose of the visit, arranged ably and smoothly by Laurence Libin (Associate Curator of Musical Instruments, Metropolitan Museum), Ray Erickson (Director, Graduate Program in Music at Queens College) and assisted by Bernard Bailly de Surcy (Director, The Institute for Early Music), was the first public playing of the Museum's Stradivarius violin (*c*1691), newly restored by Frederick Lindeman (Maasstraat 46—Amsterdam 1010, The Netherlands) to 17th-century condition. The touring Kuijken Quartet from Brussels, whose visit to the University of Connecticut, Storrs, was arranged by this writer, presented a Saturday-night concert and Sunday workshop for the Viola da Gamba Society of America. Initially planned for viols alone, the event attracted over 120 musicians from as far as Virginia and Toronto to hear and participate in master classes with Wieland Kuijken, viol, as well as his brothers Sigiswald, violin, and Bart, flute.

The Schröder event provided a rare opportunity to hear a truly great instrument by a great maker restored to its original fittings, and—one would hope—to its original sound properties. Of course, such an instrument in such condition demands from the player a responsive style of performance, and Schröder is one of the few present players (among whom Sigiswald Kuijken is pre-eminent) who have learned the 17th- and 18th-century styles, have learned what hand and arm positions, what amount of vibrato, what manner of bowing and articulation such an instrument demands. These factors were particularly evident in the first master class, when players who had never had their hands on a baroque violin and bow brought their modern approach to Bach. The problems of too heavy bowing, excessive vibrato, even of holding the instrument are to be expected, as Schröder says, becuase intense interest in older violins has developed only in the last ten to fifteen years. This situation arises because—unlike the viol—the violin never fell into disuse, and many players of 'modern' violins are hesitant to adapt to different tools and to learn a style different from that they have inherited later in the stylistic continuum.

In a concert ranging from Cima to Veracini, the LeClair f♯ Sonata (op. 9, no. 10) represented the most successful performance, its flamboyance revealing the potential of the Strad and the mastery of Schröder. The upper register was brilliant but not shrill, the lower warm and resonant, with everywhere a reedy transparent timbre. In comparison, the two accompanying instru-



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ments (a 1781 Kirkman harpsichord played by Ray Erickson and a baroque cello played by Fortunato Arico) gave a rather large sound, not matching the transparency of the violin. Surprisingly, Schröder used a Dodd 'battle-axe-head' bow from *c*1760 for the entire programme, including the Cima and Uccellini, simply as a matter of personal preference. In the Sunday session on Bach's solo partitas, he expressed an interest in using a French dance bow if he could find one.

Two points made by Schröder in January were recalled in different circumstances by Sigiswald Kuijken in February. Holding the violin under the chin to the right of the tailpiece allows Schröder to move the instrument and bow in opposite directions, playing less from the waist than a modern violinist does. For Kuijken, the violin is not an extension of the trunk of the body, as it has been held since the 19th century, but is held in front of the chest and touched by the chin only when shifting, thus allowing the player to hear the volume of sound around him. The sound comes less from within, is perhaps less subjective, and is heard by the player from a somewhat more objective distance.

The Storrs concert presented the only all-French programme the Kuijken Quartet gave on their American tour, one that demonstrated a great variety of textures and timbres within the unity of French baroque style. Wieland Kuijken's manner of bowing allows for him to lift (and rest?) his thumb while playing, yet maintain masterful control; Bart, his younger brother, has rapidly gained an equal reputation as a flautist with springing articulation and as an articulate, sensitive teacher. The last work of the evening, Rameau's 5me Concert, provided an occasion to observe more easily the contributions of harpsichordist Robert Kohnen to this splendid, polished ensemble.

A final observation might be made for this journal's readers about the enthusiasm which these two visits generated among the participants and audiences, but to make this observation is not to deny the proven abilities of Mr Schröder and the Kuijkens. There are a number of highly competent performers of comparable calibre among North American exponents of early music, but why do they not enjoy comparable reputations? Apart from the self-evident factor of their being closer and more accessible than the Europeans, there is the underlying fact that European recording companies with dependable distributors have made us all familiar with European musicians and their endeavours—something that occurs all too rarely with North American companies and performers.

BRUCE BELLINGHAM

Early Music in Japan in 1976

Baroque and renaissance music has continued to gain popularity in Japan since the success of the Tokyo Recorder Quartet in Bruges last year, and not only on the concert platform. An association of recorder teachers meets twice yearly at an ex-Olympic training centre beside a lake at the foot of Mount Fuji, last autumn adding renaissance dance to its activities. In fact, that famous traditional mountain is becoming familiar with early European music these days. On its cool, sunny slopes the Zen-On music publishing and instrument manufacturing company held its first renaissance music summer school in August last year, a most successful venture and highly promising. Recorder players were there in force of course, but so were singers, viol players, transverse flautists, lutenists and harpsichord players. A particularly popular innovation was the introduction of renaissance dance, for which everyone joined together every evening. As a Japanese seminar this was unusual for its happy lack of competitiveness, its variety and an unusual collection of very enthusiastic people of all ages and from all walks of life—almost impossible to achieve in Japan.

This apparent greater accessibility to western music of an early period may in part be due to the introduction of recorder playing ten years or so ago into Japanese school education. These students are now maturing and some of them have retained their interest, so that within a minority of young people who do gather together socially, impromptu recorder playing sessions are not unusual. Ueno Gakuen, a music college in Tokyo specializing in early music, has recently purchased a collection of about 60 old instruments, many of them mentioned in Lütgendorff's *Die Geigen und Lautenmacher*.

In concert halls, too, performances of early music are increasing and attracting more and more enthusiasts. Concentus Musicum Tokyo specializes in the realization of baroque music using authentic instruments, and the ten-year-old son of the director whiled away the torrid heat of the summer making a beautiful rebec which has since made its professional debut. Local interest is maintained by inspiration from abroad—we had been looking forward to seeing David Munrow here last autumn, but were fortunate to be able to welcome the Academy of Ancient Music instead who made a very strong impression on music lovers in Tokyo. Syntagma Musicum Amsterdam also delighted packed audiences, and it was rumoured that Mr von Huene paid a brief visit here. Early music is certainly growing in Japan.

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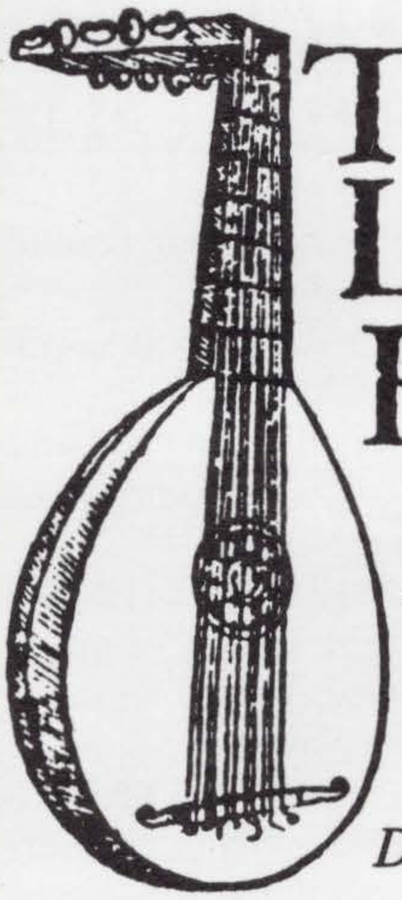

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In conjunction with possible structural changes within the School of Musicology, applications are being considered at this time both from those who are exclusively interested in a full-time appointment, as well as from those who wish to be considered for a part-time position. The deadline for applications is 15 November 1977.

Those who are interested in this appointment, as well as those who wish to call attention to other possible candidates, may write or call the chairman of the search committee:
Prof. dr. M. H. Flothuis
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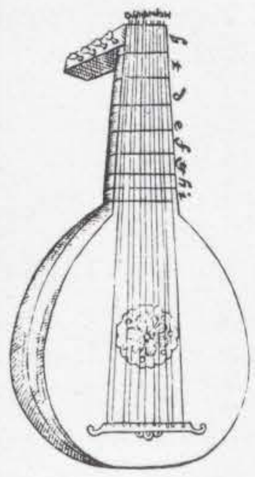

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